ANONYMOUS COMMUNICATION
KEEP ENVELOPE ATTACHED

L
14
40

Dear Sir;

Please investigate the "Foreign Policy Asso." of 8 West 40th St. NewYork City. It is connected with a group of British propagandists. They recently bought time over WJZ.

Sincerely,
Pro-American

They hire a number of American teachers who are of British ancestry as a cover-up policy.

Their speeches and literature are inclined to influence us into war on the side of Britian.

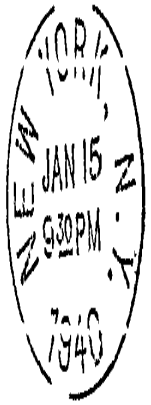
They also have offices and agents in other cities.

See Index

RECORDED
&
INDEXED.

61-7802-1

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
5 JAN 16 1940
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE



J.Edgar Hoover,

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington,

D.C.

RFG:LCB

RECORDED

~~44-4-1867-2~~
61-7802-X15

April 28, 1938.

Mrs. Howell Moorhead,
Secretary,
Opium Research Committee,
Foreign Policy Association,
National Press Building,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Moorhead:

May I acknowledge your letter of April 20, 1938, concerning your activities in the field of crime prevention.

It was thoughtful indeed of you to advise me concerning the development of the pamphlet, "Marihuana, The New Dangerous Drug," and I want to thank you for your courtesy.

My commitments this week are very heavy and I expect to leave Washington at the end of the week so that I am not able to definitely arrange an appointment. I would be very happy indeed to have you call at the Bureau sometime in the near future concerning your plans and in the event I am out of town or unable to see you, I would be pleased to arrange for you to discuss your problem with another representative of the FBI.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Mr. Nathan
Mr. Tolson
Mr. Baughman
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Crowl
Mr. Dawsey
Mr. Egan
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hottel
Mr. Lester
Mr. McIntire
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Schilder
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy
Mr. Kleinpaul

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
APR 30 1938
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

JAN 14 1957 RHM

Instructions r[illegible] rom Spc. Agt. Chas. [illegible], Intelligence Branch.

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT N[illegible]
New York, N.Y.	Dec. 9, 1921	Dec. 5, 1921	Geo. J. Starr.

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

RE: FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION : Japanese & Chinese Activities.

FACTS DEVELOPED:

At New York, N.Y.

Noted F.D.N.

CORRUPT INFORMATION DEC 13 1921 DIVISION

62-8424

A luncheon given by the above Association at Pennsylvania Hotel, Dec. 3rd, 1921, was the occasion for a clash in views between K.P.WANG, Chinese editor of the Shun Pao, and G.E.UYEHARA, Japanese, member of the House of Deputies.

MR. WANG is quoted by the press as saying that the Japanese are playing the same game at Washington as they had at Paris a good game which he called obstruction and silence. China is distrustful of Japan's promises and indicts her aims, he said, and added that his nation of 400,000,000 people would never be subdued by Japan.

Read by DEC 12 1921 Wm. J. Burns

MR. UYEHARA made a rather optimistic speech, declaring the Washington Conference was the greatest move toward adjustment of international affairs in the history of the world and was a great step toward international peace.

According to the New York Herald from which paper this information was obtained, all the speakers objected to the closed meetings at Washington, which they said produced doubt that real work was being done.

DEC 19 1921

61-7802-X

RECORDED

Others speakers were HENRY W. NEVINSON, of the "Manchester Guardian," J.J.CHAMPENOIS, of the French Ministry of Education and BRUCE BLIVEN, of the "New York Globe."

REFERENCE:

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: Washington 3: San Francisco 1: Los Angeles 1: New York 2:

GJS:VD

JAN 14 1957

5-280

91519

249474

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/16/85 BY SP4 clw/mg

61-7802-X1

~~62 8441~~

~~65-2801~~

JAN 14 1957
RLM

Instructions of Special Agent in Charge Edw[illegible]

Report Made At:	Date When Made:	Period For Which Made:	Report Made By:
New York City	12/16/21	12/16/21	Geo. J. Starr.

Title and Character of Case:
IN RE: NATIONAL FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, 3 WEST 29th STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

Facts Developed: At New York:

Referring to the above organization, Agent would call attention to report submitted under the above title on December 9th.

The National Foreign Policy Association stands for a liberal and constructive American foreign policy. It concentrates its efforts in particular on a progressive reduction of armaments by international agreement. The chairman of the organization is Mr. James G. McDonald, the treasurer is Robert H. Gardiner and the executive secretary is Miss Christinia Merriman. This organization is endorsed by the National Bureau of Information.

Investigation continued.

JAN 14 1957
DEC 29 1921
62-7802-X2
62-87442
RECORDED
INDEXED

GJS:FJK

JAN 14 1957

Reference: GFR:JR 65-280-5 12/14/21

Copies of This Report Furnished To: Washington (3) New York (2) Los Angeles (1) San Francisco (1)

7—1169

ORIGINAL

Instructions re[illegible] m Spc. Agt. Chas. J. [illegible] ,Intelligence [illegible]

REPORT MADE AT:		PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPOR
New York, N.Y.	Jan. 9, 1922	Jan. 7, 1922	Geo. J. Starr.

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

RE: FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION : Japanese Activities.

FACTS DEVELOPED:

At New York, N.Y.

91026

Continuing previous investigation of above organization it has been learned that a luncheon will be given at Hotel Astor today at which DR. SIDNEY L. GULICK, DR. PAUL S. REINSCH and HENRY W. TAFT will discuss "The Washington Conference and the Far East."

CRIME RECORDS DIVISION JAN 24 1922

~~62-8944-3~~
61-7802-X3

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE [illegible]

RECORDED

REFERENCE: 91

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:

Washington 3: Los Angeles 1: San Francisco 1: New York 2:

JAN 14 1957 RDM

GJS:VD

7—1169

ns m Spc. Agt. Chas. telligence Branch.

		PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	
ork, N.Y.	Jan. 9, 1922	Jan. 9, 1922	Geo. J. Starr

ARACTER OF CASE:

RE: FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION: Japanese Activities.

READ BY W.S.R. JAN 21 1922 DIVISION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED C219698 DATE 7/27/82 BY SP6 BSA/omb

FACTS DEVELOPED:

At New York, N.Y.

1/14/22

The above organization, ~~which is~~ a continuation of the former League of Free Nations Association, held a luncheon at the Hotel Astor, Saturday, Jan. 7th.

DR. PAUL S. REINSCH, former U.S. Minister to China, was the first speaker and in his speech he blamed China for offering the principle disturbing factors to the peace of the Far East, stating in part:

"The disturbing factor in the Far East at the present time is the claim on the part of Japan of special interests on the continent of Asia." He further stated, "The four-power treaty concerning the Pacific Islands will be judged by what the conference can accomplish regarding China and Siberia during the next week. The result achieved will show whether the four-treaty powers are expected in the main to endorse or at least not effectively to protest against the situation as it is in China and Siberia."

HARRY W. TAFT spoke in defense of Japan saying that he was compelled to take issue with DR. REINSCH in view of the territory surrendered by Japan, whose good faith MR. TAFT emphasized. He is also quoted as saying, "The Treaty of Versailles gave her (Japan) the right to Shantung, and she proposed to surrender everything there with the exception of the Railroad.

61-7802-X4

~~62-8411-11~~

RECORDED

REFERENCE:

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:

Washington 3: Los Angeles 1: San Francisco 1: New York 2:

GJS:VD

~~JAN 14 1967~~

7—1169

JAPAN

DR. SIDNEY L. GULICK, a lecturer at the Imperial University at Tokio and the subject of many reports of this office, spoke on the five great accomplishments of the Washington Conference including a better understanding among nations and particularly the influence it would have in healing the long-standing breach between Japan and China.

Instructions r[illegible] om Spc. Agt. in Chg. [illegible] man.

REPORT MADE AT:	[illegible]E:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT M[illegible]
New York, N.Y.	Jan. 21, 1922	Jan. 21, 1922	George J. Starr.

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

RE: FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION :

FACTS DEVELOPED:

At New York, N.Y.

Reference is made to bureau telegram dated January 21st, dictated by Mr. Hoover, in which information is requested regarding ROBERT H. GARDINER, Treas., American Policy Towards Russia Organization or Association.

It is learned that this refers to the Foreign Policy Association, which is giving a luncheon at the Hotel Astor, at which the principle speaker will be MRS. MARGARET HARRISON, and the topic of her speech will be "The American Policy Toward Russia,"

Attention is respectfully called to reports of Agent Starr re"Foreign Policy Association,"dated December 9th, January 9th, January 9th;and "The National Foreign Policy Association", dated 12-16-21. (The word "national" should be eliminated.)

It will be noted in Agent's report for January 9th that this association is a continuation of the former League of Free Nations Association. This statement would seem to be confirmed by the fact that James. D. McDonald, who was the Secretary of the former League of Free Nations, fills the same position in the Foreign Policy Ass'n., and CHRISTINA MERRIMAN, who was Secretary to the League of Free Nations Ass'n., is the Executive Secretary of the Foreign Policy Ass'n.

61-7802-X5

The League of Free Nations Ass'n, which was located at 130 W. 42nd on the 20th floor was more or less pro-Soviet in its

REFERENCE: Wire 1-21-22 JEH

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: Washington 3; New York 2:

(GJS:VD)

JAN 14 1957

7—1169

policies and was at one time involved in a controversy with former Secretary of Labor Davis, regarding certain statments which were attributed to him by them. Their radical tendencies were also indicated by the publication of certain advertising matter and news articles in the New York Call, The World Tomorrow and similar publications.

No information has been obtained as yet regarding ROBERT H. GARDINER. It is presumed, however, that this is ROBERT HALLOWELL GARDINER, of Gardiner, Maine, practicing Attorney at Boston, and a director of the Arlington Mills, Webster & Atlas National Bank, Boston & Albany R.R., and a Trustee of the Boston Real Estate Trust. He is a member of the Federal Council of Churches (which organization is subject of many reports of this office)

Investigation continued.

OPI.JI.
~~62-844-4~~

RECORDED
61-7802-X4

January 16,1942.

Capt. John Holmes,
Director Naval Intelligence Division,
Navy Department,
Washington, D.C.

My dear Captain -

For your information, I am enclosing herewith copy of a report of Agent Geo. J. Geary, of New York, for January 9th, concerning - FUNSTON BOSLEY ASSOCIATION: Japanese Activities.

Yours very truly,

Director.

Encl.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/27/82 BY SP4 BJK/ml
C21998

OCT 14 1957

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
New York, N.Y.	Feb.13, 1922	Jan.22, 1922	George J. Starr.

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

RE: FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION:

FACTS DEVELOPED:

At New York, N.Y.

Attached to this report is a clipping from the New York World, January 22, 1922, covering speeches made at the Hotel Astor Luncheon, January 21st, 1922, held by the above association.

Further investigation is being made of ROBERT H. GARDINER, regarding whom information is desired by the Bureau.

Read by
FEB 16 1922
Wm. J. Burns.

61-7802-X6
~~62-8977~~

REFERENCE:

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:
Washington 3; New York.

GJS:VD

JAN 14 1957
RLM

in re: FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION.

NEW YORK WORLD, January 22nd, 1922.

PREDICTS TURKISH ATTACK ON RUSSIA

Nationalists, Says Capt. Hibben, Have Been Financed by the French.

World 1-22-22

That France has made an alliance with the Turkish Nationalist Government, which will result in an attack on Russia by the Turks in the spring and give France control of the Grozni oil fields and Turkey the realization of the Mussulman's dream of a Mohammedan Empire stretching from Asia Minor to India, were the statements made by Capt. Paxton Hibben, formerly in the diplomatic service of the United States, at a luncheon of the Foreign Policy Association at the Hotel Astor yesterday. France has already loaned or will loan 100,000,000 francs to the Turks for this purpose, he asserted.

Capt. Hibben, who has just returned from a 5,750-mile trip in Russia, pleaded for a constructive programme of aid to Russia, which would put Russia on a firm economic basis. In spite of the fact that the Quakers, who have been working in Russia for some time, were told it was impossible to send over more food than is now being sent, Capt. Hibben claimed it was possible to send 10,000 tons of supplies daily through the Black Sea ports.

Mrs. Marguerite E. Harrison, whose vivid articles on Russia have appeared in The World, told of her prison experiences in that country. The Russians were supporting the Communist Government, she said, because they would rather have a bad Russian Government than a good Government established by some outside power. Isolation had done more to strengthen Communism than any other thing, she said, and the best way to combat it was by outside contact with Russia.

The theatres in Russia were the only places where real free speech was tolerated, she claimed, since the people refused to allow their favorites to be imprisoned for free speech. The educational system established by the Soviet Government will be one of the potent factors for the Soviets' overthrow, she declared, and insisted the Russian problem would be solved from inside Russia if we would only recognize the Russian people for what they are.

Former Gov. James P. Goodrich of Indiana, who has just returned from Russia, where he went as a representative of the American Relief Association, denied Cort Paxton's statement as to sending 10,000 tons of food a day into Russia through Black Sea ports. Even if it were possible, he said, it would take at least 100 days to carry in the supplies already in the hands of the A. R. A., and more supplies are being purchased.

He said 3,000,000 bushels of seed grains were purchased by the A. R. A. for the Soviet Government with Soviet money and 1,000,000 bushels with American money. Even in the centre of the famine stricken communes, those in charge told him that if they had a good crop next year and sufficient seed Russia would be able to take care of its own situation after next summer.

James G. McDonald, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the association, presided, and among those at the luncheon were Mrs. George W. Coleman, Mrs. Charles Tiffany, Robert H. Gardiner and other members of the Executive Committee.

91518

62-844

GFR.JR.

April 11, 1928.

Mr. D. J. Brennan,
Box 241, City Hall Station,
New York.

Dear Sir -

Reference is made to previous reports submitted by your office concerning the FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION.

Upon referring to these reports, I find that they are not in detail enough to enlighten me upon all the activities of this Association and the membership of same.

I am particularly desirous of obtaining information concerning this Association's efforts to secure recognition for the Far Eastern Republic, and I desire that, if possible, you secure a list of the leaders who came to Washington to secure its recognition after the Disarmament Conference.

Please give this matter your immediate attention.

Yours very truly,

Director.

61-7802-X2

JAN 14 1957

On inst [redacted] rom Agent in Charge, [redacted] 327-D T. Brennan.

REPORT MADE AT:	WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
New York,N. Y.	Apl17/22	Apl 17 -22	[redacted]

b7D

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

IN RE : FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

FACTS DEVELOPED:

at New York.

At the Astor Hotel the information clerk advised me that I may get the address of the above association from the banquet manager;from this gentleman I learned that this association kept offices at No. 3 West 29 th Street, Room 602. At this address I obtained ,under the pretext of wanting them from a friend of mine who wished to join the association, the following printed forms; which are attached to the original of this report:

Blank Receipt for Membership Fees.
1 Folder "March 1922" Foreign Policy Association,History and aims of the association.
1 Folder " What they say about us"
1 Foreign Policy Association " New York City Membership"
1 News Bulletin Number Twenty, March 31,1922
1 " " " Twenty One;~~March~~ April 7,1922.
1 " " " 22 April 14,1922.
1 Report of the New York Council for Limitation of Armament on the Washington Conference.
1 France and the European settlement(an address by Mr. WALTER LIPPMANN)
1 Pamphlet " Shall We End War " by Harry Emerson Fosdick,D.D.
1 " " The Far East" a manual for study groups.

NAVAL INTELLIGENCE APR 20 1922

COPIES DESTROYED 73 MAY 23 1961

The above folders and pamphlets contain detailed information regarding the founders of the association,a list of its principal members, and the supposed purpose of the Society.

MAY 4 1922

~~62-8449~~ 61-7802-X8

Further investigation will be made in regard to the Association's efforts to secure recognition for the Far Eastern Republic and,if possible,a list of the individuals who went to Washington to secure its recognition,will be obtained.

REFERENCE:	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:
4-11-22 GFR: JR	Washington 3; New York 2. (W. A. S.) ~~(Literature forwarded with Washington copies)~~

7—1169

NEWS BULLETIN OF THE FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

Published Weekly by the Foreign Policy Association at 3 West 29th Street, New York, N. Y.

JAMES G. MCDONALD, *Chairman* CHRISTINA MERRIMAN, *Secretary* ROBERT H. GARDINER, *Treasurer*

Membership $5. a year. Subscription to the BULLETIN $1. a Year. Literature on Application.

Entered as second-class matter December 2, 1921, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. I, No. 22 **APRIL 14, 1922**

Report of the New York Council

There has been such widespread interest in the report of the New York Council for Limitation of Armament on the Washington Conference, that we are sending it this week to all members. We shall be glad to have comment on the conclusions reached in this report (Page 4) for work in the immediate future.

Statement of the ownership, management, circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of the

NEWS BULLETIN OF THE FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION
Published weekly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1922.

State of New York, County of New York, ss.:

Before me, a Commissioner of Deeds in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Christina Merriman, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the editor of the NEWS BULLETIN OF THE FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are:

Publisher—Foreign Policy Association, 3 West 29th Street, New York City.

Editor—Christina Merriman, 3 West 29th Street, New York City.

Managing Editor—Esther G. Ogden, 3 West 29th Street, New York City.

Business Manager—None.

2. That the owners are:

Foreign Policy Association, 3 West 29th Street, New York City, the principal officers of which are:

James G. McDonald, Chairman, 3 West 29th Street, New York City, Christina Merriman, Secretary, 3 West 29th Sreet, New York City, Esther G. Ogden, Membership Secretary, 3 West 29th Street, New York City, Robert H. Gardiner, Treasurer, P. O. Box 1647, Boston, 2, Mass.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

CHRISTINA MERRIMAN, *Editor.*

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 31st day of March, 1922.

(Seal) SAMUEL J. SAKRAIS,

(My commission expires May 17, 1923)

The report of the luncheon discussion on "The Near East and the Treaty of Sevres" (April 1) is now in press and will be ready for distribution shortly.

THE GENOA CONFERENCE

(Continued from inside page)

disingenuous proposals such as have too frequently marked her replies to Allied demands and gives convincing evidence of her determination to fulfill to the utmost her international obligations, the German people may find themselves in a position where an appeal to the enlightened self-interest of the Allies and America may result in important modifications of the terms laid down at Paris.

American Co-operation

The Allies' decision to call the Genoa Conference without first consulting our government and before the Senate had ratified the results of the Washington Conference, made American participation difficult. But surely neither these considerations, nor those urged by Secretary Hughes in his note of March 8 to the Italian Minister, formally declining the invitation (see F. P. A. Bulletin, March 17), excuse the Harding administration from an imperative obligation to cooperate in every practicable way towards making the Genoa meeting an unqualified success.

A Word from the Wise

"I TAKE the first opportunity to compliment you on the meeting of Saturday (April 1).

"Education regarding international conditions—moulding public opinion by bringing to public attention the inside facts regarding the actual conditions existing in different countries and America's relation to them—is the great need of today. I am an officer of a dozen national organizations and member of over forty but I do not know any organization that is doing a more important and far-reaching work than the Foreign Policy Association.

"Therefore I consider it a privilege to become a life member, and enclose herewith my check. . ."

Checks should be made payable to ROBERT H. GARDINER, Treasurer, 3 West 29th Street, New York City.

A Chance for Peace and Reconciliation at Genoa

ARE European statesmen capable of working together for the common interests of all European peoples? The Genoa Conference, which opened April 10, will give the answer. Despite the drastic limitation of the agenda, because of the demand of France that there be no discussion of reparations, disarmament, or the recognition of Russia (save on rigorous terms), and despite the absence of America, the presence of all European states—ex-enemies, neutrals, Russia and the Allies (including South Africa, Australia, Canada, Ireland, but not India)—on an essential basis of equality—gives reason for hope that at last, nearly three and one half years after the Armistice, a beginning is to be made towards real peace and reconciliation.

Agenda

The following articles of the program indicate the official scope of the Conference:

1. Refers to an examination of best methods for the execution of the resolution passed at Cannes on January 6 in reference to the recognition of Russia.
2. "The establishment of peace on a solid basis."
3. "The essential conditions for the re-establishment of confidence, without affecting existing treaties."
4. Financial questions:
   (a) Currency
   (b) Central banks
   (c) Public finance in connection with reconstruction
   (d) Exchange
   (e) Organization of public and private credit
5. Discussion of general economic problems such as commerce, tariffs, protection of industry.
6. Transportation.

Recognition of Russia

Just before Poincaré's dramatic succession to power, Lloyd George, at the meeting of the Supreme Council at Cannes, induced Briand to agree to certain terms as the conditions of recognition of the Soviet Government (for text of Cannes resolution, see F. P. A. Bulletin of January 13). Russia has already tacitly accepted these conditions by going to Genoa. All of the European states, by participating in the Conference with Chicherin, the Soviet Foreign Minister, and his fellow representatives, have tacitly, though not yet formally, recognized the de facto character of the Soviet control. It now depends largely upon the common sense and good faith of the Russian and French governments whether Russia is to be formally welcomed back into the society of nations. If this result is achieved, Genoa will have more than justified itself, even if nothing else be done there.

Disarmament

Article II. of the agenda does not refer to limitation of armaments. It was generally believed, however, that under this heading proposals might be made for the reduction of military burdens. Unfortunately, on the opening day of the Conference, Barthou, head of the French delegation, spectacularly dashed these hopes. He met the suggestion made by Chicherin, the Soviet Foreign Minister, that "Russia was perfectly willing to reduce her army, provided other nations reduce theirs and promise to let Russia alone" by categorically announcing that if Chicherin or anyone else proposed the discussion of disarmament at Genoa, the answer of France was "a definite, categorical, decisive, final NO."

Reparations and Allied Debts

Reparations cannot even be discussed, because France will not permit it. Allied debts cannot be discussed with profit because the chief creditor, America, is absent. However, it does not follow that the solution of these two vital and intimately related problems will not be advanced by informal exchanges of opinion. But until the government of the United States has, on these two questions, a policy which President Harding and Secretary Hughes are prepared to support vigorously, both at home and abroad, there can be no basic solution of the world problems of finance and trade.

Palliatives

Clearly within the scope of the agenda are such helpful but partial measures of co-operation as outlined by John Maynard Keynes in the first of a series of reports on the Conference for the New York *World:*

> "A currency union for re-establishing the gold standard; a customs and transit agreement for reciprocal release from unnecessary impediments to the movement of goods and persons; a commercial agreement for trade under special safeguard between nationals of the participating powers and those of Russia, or an incorporated trading body for aiding the movement of capital and credit to impoverished areas."

Germany and the Allies

Second in importance only to the possible re-establishment of normal relations between Russia and the rest of the world is the re-admission of Germany, as an equal, to a conference of European states. Since the war France has consistently and vigorously protested against conferring with her ex-enemy on this basis. This concession was secured only by paying the high price of excluding from the Genoa discussions any consideration of treaty revision. Nevertheless, the presence of Germany at the council table marks real progress. If Germany, following the excellent impression created by Chancellor Wirth's initial statement, has the good sense to avoid

(*Continued on next page*)

NEWS BULLETIN OF THE FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

Published Weekly by the Foreign Policy Association at 3 West 29th Street, New York, N. Y.

JAMES G. McDONALD, *Chairman* CHRISTINA MERRIMAN, *Secretary* ROBERT H. GARDINER, *Treasurer*

Membership $5. a year. Subscription to the BULLETIN $1. a Year. Literature on Application.

Entered as second-class matter December 2, 1921, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

NUMBER TWENTY-ONE APRIL 7, 1922

Outlawry of War

We are sending this week to our members a pamphlet of the above title by S. O. Levinson of Chicago, with forewords by Dr. John Dewey and Col. Raymond Robins. The plan outlined has attracted much attention and was read into the Congressional Record on January 19th last by Senator Borah. We have on hand several hundred additional copies which we shall be glad to send out upon request as long as the supply lasts.

*"Public Opinion"

A Review

THIS is a thought-provoking and stimulating analysis of the elements which constitute public opinion. Utilizing constantly an intimate understanding of modern philosophy and psychology, Mr. Lippmann re-interprets and redefines with clarity and sometimes with startling effect the factors within and without ourselves which cause us so seldom to understand and so frequently to misunderstand the world about us. Discussing first the "outside" hindrances to knowledge, such as censorship, lack of contact and opportunity of time or attention, he devotes five brilliant chapters to "stereotypes"—convictions, prejudices, inhibitions and moral values which color all our understanding, and which unless discounted often distort grossly our judgments. Even self-interest within a very narrow group is variously interpreted, due to varied degrees of understanding. He shows conclusively how modern methods of propaganda, "improved enormously in technique because now based on analysis rather than on the rule of thumb," can be used to create artificially a "common will." But propaganda aside, "it has been demonstrated that we cannot rely upon intuition, conscience, on the accidents of casual opinion, if we are to deal with the world beyond our reach"—which is all the world save an infinitesimal fraction. Then analyzing "the image of democracy" into its constituent elements, he shows how absurd it is to believe that "the whole invisible environment will be so clear to all men that they will spontaneously arrive at sound public opinions on the whole business of government." We can, however, he insists, devise "standards of living and methods of audit by which the acts of public officials and industrial directors are measured."

Mr. Lippmann makes a very interesting attempt to weigh the different forces which de-

Continued on next page

*By Walter Lippmann, Harcourt, Brace & Company.

Continued from previous page

termine the content of a newspaper. Admitting all the faults of the press, it is and must continue to be representative of the society out of which it comes. He makes a new distinction between news and truth: "The function of news is to signalize an event. The function of truth is to bring to light the hidden facts, to set them into relation with each other and make a picture of the reality on which men can act." How can news and truth be made more nearly synonymous? Through the application of organized intelligence to all phases of politics and social relations. "We can use our wit and our force to make footholds for reason."

No one can read Mr. Lippmann's book without understanding more of the difficulties inherent in democratic government nor without appreciating more fully some of the ways in which these dangers must be met.

A Discriminating Member

"Enclosed please find my check to make —— a member of the F. P. A. I invite my liberal-minded friends to furnish them with inspiration and information and my complacent ones to purge them of smugness. . ."

This Guest Promptly Joined

"I had the pleasure of being, with a group of others, the guest at your luncheon yesterday . . . . and found the occasion so interesting I want to join what seems to me to be a fine effort to bring to pass "The Square Deal" and "Fair Play." I enclose my check for membership."

—ALICE HUNT BARTLETT, April 2, 1922.

Easter Is Coming

If there be among our members some who are planning to distribute a few Easter eggs in the guise of checks please remember the F. P. A.

Checks should be made payable to ROBERT H. GARDINER, Treasurer, 3 West 29th Street, New York City.

THE TREATIES RATIFIED—WHAT NEXT?

BY the ratification a few days ago of the last of the treaties resulting from the Washington Conference, the administration has at once redeemed its pledge about the limitation of naval armament, minimized any immediate danger of friction with Japan, somewhat weakened the points of foreign control in China and strengthened good relations between this country and Great Britain. In view of the bitter and uncompromising opposition within the Republican party to any "foreign entanglements" and the indifference of a large, if not the predominant part of our public opinion towards European affairs, Secretary Hughes has made a beginning which only the captious will criticise. But it is only a beginning. It solves definitely none of the problems with which it deals. It leaves untouched political and economic questions of the highest importance and most pressing urgency.

Reparations and Allied Indebtedness

THE Genoa Conference now offers little hope of a solution of either of the two most important problems affecting the economic recovery of Europe and the world: the obligations of Germany to the Allies and the Allies' obligations to each other and to the United States. In America's absence these questions must be solved elsewhere, but they must be solved together.

Does Secretary Hughes propose to acquiesce in the recent action of Congress, dictated by lack of understanding, which effectively prevents any consideration of continued remission of interest payments or of cancellation of any portion of the principal of the debts due us? Or will the Administration attempt to educate the country to understand that not only the interest of our debtors, but our own, would in the judgment of almost all students of international finance, be best served by the cancellation of these debts? Such cancellation should, of course, be contingent upon the cancellation by the Allies of their indebtedness to one another, the drastic reduction of their military expenditures, the lessening of the appalling gap between outgo and income, the stopping of the government printing presses and the reduction of the German reparation obligations to an amount which Germany and the rest of the world believe she can pay.

President Harding and Secretary Hughes, as no one else, could bring to the Middle West and the South, if only they were to speak frankly, a compelling sense of America's stake in the rehabilitation of European finance and trade. Time is urgent.

Russia

SAVE for the admirable but limited relief efforts, no progress has been made towards the re-establishment of normal relations between this country and Russia. The reports, confirmed from diverse sources, of material modifications in the Communist practices and policies of the Soviet government have awakened no response in Washington. Italy, Germany, Great Britain and France either have granted de facto recognition or are moving towards it and are discussing arrangements for de jure recognition. But Washington does nothing. Surely, American public opinion has a right to demand that the Administration take cognizance of changed circumstances and co-operate with the rest of the world to bring Russia back into the family of nations.

Mexico

THE announcement foreshadowed in last week's Bulletin that the Mexican Secretary of the Treasury would come to this country soon was made April 3. A letter from Mr. de la Huerta to the Mexican Financial Agency in New York stated that he would come to New York in May to meet the representatives from Europe and this country of Mexico's creditors.

A statement authorized by the International Committee of Bankers expresses the hope that this conference "participated in by all the interests concerned, will go far in working out a solution of pending questions with reference to the Mexican Government's external indebtedness."

This culmination of months of negotiation may result in the elimination of one of the most important questions which have complicated the problem of recognition. It has been suggested that de la Huerta may combine a diplomatic mission with his financial responsibilities. This is very doubtful. In any event, it is earnestly to be hoped that his coming, an evidence of good faith on Mexico's part, will be adequately appreciated in this country and that Mexico's representative will be shown here convincing proof of the good-will which our people feel towards our neighboring republic.

Germany

THE separate peace with Germany, ending the state of war between the two countries, is soon to be followed by a treaty of amity and commerce. The new Ambassador to Berlin made an excellent impression by his address in New York March 31. Without indicating any undue leniency or willingness to relinquish any of America's just claims, Mr. Houghton had the good sense and the courage to make unequivocally clear his determination to base his attitude not on the two years of war between the two countries, but upon the hundred and more years of peace. If now the Administration can through a joint claims commission agree with Germany upon the disposition of the alien enemy property held in each of the countries and of the claims growing out of the war, real progress will have been made towards putting the relations between this country and Germany on a sound basis.

NEWS BULLETIN OF THE FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

Published Weekly by the Foreign Policy Association at 3 West 29th Street, New York, N. Y.
JAMES G. McDONALD, *Chairman* CHRISTINA MERRIMAN, *Secretary* ROBERT H. GARDINER, *Treasurer*
Membership $5. a year. Subscription to the BULLETIN $1. a Year. Literature on Application.
Entered as second-class matter December 2, 1921, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

NUMBER TWENTY MARCH 31, 1922

No F. P. A. Luncheon, April 15th

Bulletin of March 17th to the contrary notwithstanding!

The date of the first luncheon discussion following that of April 1st on the Near East and the Treaty of Sèvres, will be announced later.

Pan-American Conference of Women

The F. P. A. will have two representatives at the Pan-American Conference of Women to be held in Baltimore, April 20th to 23rd, 1922 on subjects of special concern to women. The call for this Conference issued by the National League of Women Voters to the women of all the Americas emphasizes the need of international friendship as follows:

"Peace among nations is essential to the work that women have most at heart. A definite step towards the maintenance of peace has been taken by the Conference on Limitation of Armament. The League has borne its full share of responsibility for making known to the Conference the profound hope of the people of this land that war may cease.

"But this hope can never be wholly realized until friendly cooperation for common ends takes the place of international rivalry. The League believes that friendliness with our neighbor countries will be stimulated and strengthened when women from all parts of the western hemisphere come together for sympathetic study of their common problems."

Shall We End War?

The Foreign Policy Association still has on hand a supply of Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick's sermon *"Shall We End War?"*

Through the generosity of a friend these pamphlets may be had upon application, without charge except for postage.

Two Ways to Help

Tell your friends about the F. P. A. and ask them to join. Some day they will thank you—

or

Invite a friend to one of our luncheons. Nine cases out of ten he or she will join afterwards without being urged.

Checks should be made payable to ROBERT H. GARDINER, Treasurer, 3 West 29th Street, New York City.

Full Report of Luncheons

We should like to be in position to reprint in full the speeches and discussions at our biweekly luncheons as we did in our monthly Bulletins of last year. It is impossible, however, with our present limited budget to print these discussions in addition to our Weekly Bulletins except where special funds can be raised.

We are glad to announce that such a speci fund has been raised for the discussion *"The Far Eastern Republic, Siberia and Jap* (March 4th), which will be ready for distr tion to members the end of this week.

We are most anxious to reprint the discus on British Policy in India and Gandhi's N Cooperation Movement (an extra lunche held March 11th. The discussion was unusua interesting, informing and comprehensive. Fi dollars has been subscribed for this purpose. Seventy-five dollars more is needed. Members particularly interested in this discussion are invited to send or pledge what they can towards this special fund.

Mr. Walter Lippmann's address delivered at the luncheon of February 4th *"France and the European Settlement"* has been reprinted and distributed this week to members. Additional copies may be obtained at ten cents each from the office of the Foreign Policy Association.

F. P. A. Discussions Clarify

"Permit me to thank you for the most interesting afternoon which I enjoyed last Saturday at the luncheon of the Foreign Policy Association [subject: Siberia, the Far Eastern Republic and Japan]. Such frank and stimulating discussion certainly does help to clarify our views and bring out the fundamental issues involved in these questions . . ."—WILLIAM B. HEROY.

Another "Settlement" in [illegible]

ONCE more the Allied governments, this time through the conference of Foreign Ministers in Paris, have proposed new boundary lines in the Near East. Turkey is to hold Constantinople (on just what terms is not clear), to regain Asia Minor, including Smyrna, now held by Greece, and a large portion of Thrace. Thus the Turks and the Bulgarians are once more to have a common frontier. Greece, retiring from the mainland of Asia, is to retain Adrianople and the Gallipoli peninsula on the Dardanelles. These straits and those in the Bosphorus are to be opened perpetually to navigation, the immediately adjoining territories to be demilitarized, but those of the Dardanelles to remain under the supervision of "an international commission with a Turkish president, comprising representatives of all the principal powers interested, including Greece."

The Allies announce that: "The situation of the Armenians has received special consideration. Consequently the aid of the League of Nations is sought, with a view to satisfying the traditional aspirations of the Armenian people and the establishment of a national home for them."

That this latest attempt to reconcile the conflicting interests of France and Great Britain in western Asia will be more successful than previous compromises is possible. Greece probably can be coerced into acceptance. The Turks, nominally retaining sovereignty over a vast empire and actually securing considerable concessions, may acquiesce.

It would be blindness, however, to assert that anything other than sheer expediency has motivated this "settlement." Great Britain, faced by the grave danger of Moslem unrest in India, has sacrificed Greece to placate the Turkish co-religionists throughout the British Empire. France now secures the revision of the Treaty of Sévres along lines calculated to strengthen French influence throughout the Mediterranean. France and Britain have agreed on a policy which temporarily eliminates one of the most dangerous sources of friction between the two countries.

The League of Nations is to be given a most difficult task. Voicing a pious resolution that the Armenians may have a "national home," the Allies do not indicate, much less provide, any particular territory for this persecuted and deserted people. Lord Curzon and his colleagues merely specify that the territory now inhabited by the Armenians shall be under Turkish sovereignty. There would be more reason to hope for the League's success if experiences in the recent past offered any ground for faith that either France or Great Britain will make any real sacrifice to support the League in carrying out this trust. But all the more credit will redound to the Council of the League which is to have direct responsibility if it succeeds where all other agencies have failed.

The tentative character of the decisions at Paris, their grave importance not only for Greece and Turkey, for the good relations of France and Great Britain, but also for the future of the British Empire, lend particular interest to the F. P. A.'s luncheon-discussion Saturday, April 1, at the Hotel Astor on the subject "The Near East and the Treaty of Sévres." Greek, Turkish and American points of view on the Paris proposals will be presented by the four announced speakers, and both British and French spokesmen are expected to take part in the general discussion.

De La Huerta's Opportunity

DESPITE the persistent rumors of a change of Mexican policy in Washington, to which we called attention last week, nothing in the political situation has really been changed. President Harding has had no recent direct correspondence with President Obregon. The truth appears to be that certain informal and friendly remarks of the President about Mexico were greatly exaggerated to indicate that the White House had taken charge of the Mexican negotiations. Nothing could be further from the truth. Mr. Hughes continues with the President's hearty approval in complete control of all aspects of our political relations with Mexico. There is no ground to believe that the Secretary of State has modified his announced policy that simultaneously with recognition some sort of treaty or protocol shall be signed by the two governments clarifying the issues that are now confused. Nor has President Obregon given any indication that he is as yet prepared to meet Mr. Hughes' suggestion.

One man perhaps has it within his power to enable Secretary Hughes and President Obregon to agree wihout sacrifice of principle. If Secretary of the Treasury de la Huerta were now (continuing the conferences begun during the visit of Mr. Thomas W. Lamont to Mexico in September last year as a representative of the International Bankers' Committee) to confer in New York not merely with members resident in the United States of the International Bankers' Committee, but also with representatives from Paris and London of French and British interests who might be induced to come here, it is likely that the whole complicated problem of handling Mexico's various external obligations would be solved. Such an agreement would certainly facilitate and might indeed be a part of a more permanent settlement than has thus far been possible between the Mexican government and the American and other foreign oil interests. With the removal from the field of controversy of the major questions of finance and oil, the questions involved in recognition would be greatly simplified.

As a friend of the Mexican people, having opposed any suggestion of intervention in Mexican affairs by the United States and having fought with all its strength for better relations between the two peoples, the F. P. A. is confident that Secretary de la Huerta would receive, if he were to come to this country, a most cordial welcome, not only from the interests with whom he would negotiate, but also from the American press and the American people who would look upon his visit as an augury of the early establishment of normal diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Shall We End War?

By
Harry Emerson Fosdick, D.D.

A Sermon Preached at the
First Presbyterian Church, New York
June 5, 1921

Distributed through the
Foreign Policy Association
3 West 29th Street New York City

The best service which this sermon could render would be to induce all its readers to read also "The Next War," by Will Irwin, published by E. P. Dutton and Co., a book to which this sermon is indebted for some of its concrete facts and figures.

SHALL WE END WAR?

On this Sunday, dedicated by the churches to the cause of disarmament, we already have sung and prayed and read our morning subject and our morning text. "Neither shall they learn war any more"—how impossible that dream must have seemed when first Isaiah and Micah, prophets together in a generation torn by many wars, used the words! Their contemporaries must have listened to such a hope, as they might have felt a passing breeze, cooling them for a moment in the heat of strife, but passing on swiftly to be forgotten. How vain the hope has always seemed that the time would come when men would not learn war any more!

Indeed, at no time would sarcasm have been easier than now over the contrast between the ideal of peace and the actuality of war. Not learn war any more, when we have just passed through a war that has made all its predecessors in history seem like popping chestnuts beside a thunder clap, when preparations for the next war are everywhere anxiously afoot and the race of competitive armament has begun again!

To one who knows history, however, something else is apparent beyond this discouraging contrast between the actuality and the ideal. Said Victor Hugo, "Nothing on earth is so powerful as an *idea* whose hour has come." It is possible in history to trace that movement of thought which has brought us to the hour where now we stand, where we must either give up war or else give up civilization. At least the dim suspicion of this dilemma between war and civilization has not for centuries been altogether lacking. The church, all too feebly recognizing the irreconcilable conflict between war and the spirit of Jesus, has, for all that, at her best been endeavoring to restrain war, to abolish its worst barbarities, to limit its area and to bring, where it could, the truce of God. Before 1914 some kinds of war had been done away—religious wars, for example, that during

so many centuries devastated Europe. Throughout the nineteenth century there was a growing apprehension about the crisis toward which humanity was drifting. During the first fifty years of the nineteenth century practically nothing was said about arbitration treaties. During the first ten years of the twentieth century ninety-six international arbitration treaties were signed. And before that fateful day of August, 1914, the Hague peace conferences had been desperately endeavoring to trim the claws of war with rules and regulations that might protect the wounded and non-combatants and limit the methods of killing. All of these things have proved to be futile enough in practical effect, yet they are valuable as prophecy. They indicate that humanity for a long time has dimly perceived what now we are fools if we do not clearly see: that war and civilization are diametrically opposed, that we can have one or the other but not for very long can we have both.

Let us this morning consider a few of those things which, in view of our late experience, we ought to understand about war.

First of all, *there is nothing glorious about war any more.* We used to think there was. When we were children, with tasselled paper caps and tin guns, marching to a beaten drum, we incarnated in our boyish pride the ancient fallacy that there is something glorious about war. Is it not amazing that the most damnable things in human life are so habitually dressed in the alluring paraphernalia of parade and gorgeous clothes and stirring song? What is intoxication by strong drink? Any man with eyes to face the facts knows it to be a beastly thing with a trail of poverty, heartbreak and death after it, so that men ought to hate it with a bitter hatred. Yet when men sing their drinking songs intoxication is radiantly clothed with gaiety and mirth, with the clink of glasses and the surge of song, until the very souls of the elect might be deceived. So war, which is a skeleton, has covered itself with a gorgeous robe. One of the first men in history to tell the truth about war was Vereshchagin, the Russian painter. He fought in the Crimean War and then he painted the battlefields of the Crimea as they really were, with all the glory stripped away, with nothing but the horror and the rottenness and the

cruelty left—war stark naked and infernal. The old Czar's government tried to keep him from exhibiting his pictures in Russia. They knew that men would not forever cry for war and glory in it if they knew the truth about it.

There is no excuse, however, if *we* do not know the truth about war. For the first time in history we have gone through a gigantic war, for news of which we have not been chiefly dependent upon official dispatches, but upon multitudinous letters from millions of men, many of whom we knew, and upon detailed reports from journalists on the spot. War glorious? Read Philip Gibbs's "Now It Can Be Told." Read Barbusse's "Under Fire." Read Will Irwin on "The Next War." These were not idealists pleading a preconceived cause, but men looking for the facts and their testimony is unanimous: there is nothing glorious about war any more; it is a brutal, organized butchery of human beings.

In saying this one would desire to guard himself against any appearance of dishonoring the memory or depreciating the spirit of the men who bore the burdens of the nation on the field of battle. Any one of us who was with them in France would rather have his tongue plucked out than do them dishonor. Their courage, their resourcefulness, their dash, their spirit of comradeship and sacrifice, their willingness to die, were stirring and splendid. Let humanity not altogether despair of herself if her youth can display qualities like that! But this very fact was part of the horror of war. To take these supreme qualities of human character and to use them to do what war does—that is not glorious. To take a splendid youth, willing to serve the will of God in his generation before he falls on sleep, and to teach him the skillful trick of twisting a bayonet into the abdomen of an enemy—that is not glorious. To take a royal-spirited man who is not afraid of anything under heaven and to teach him to drop bombs on undefended towns to kill whom he knows not—it may be the baby suckled at her mother's breast—that is not glorious.

One of our young men came back from France and, like many others, would not talk. One day his father took him apart and rebuked him for his silence. "Just one thing I will tell you,"

he answered. "One night I was on patrol in No Man's Land and suddenly I came face to face with a German boy about my own age. It was a question of his life or mine. We fought like wild beasts. When I came back that night I was covered from head to foot with the blood and brains of that young German boy. We had nothing personally against each other. He did not want to kill me any more than I wanted to kill him. That is war. I did my duty in it, but for God's sake do not ask me to talk about it. I want to forget it." My friends, that *is* war—the quintessence of it at the central point of its self-revelation. There is nothing glorious about it any more.

In the second place, *war is not a school for virtue any more.* We used to think it was. We half believed the German War Party when they told us about the disciplinary value of their gigantic establishment, and when Lord Roberts assured us that war was tonic for the souls of peoples we were half inclined to think that he was right. In particular, when our war broke and in answer to the nation's call so many millions leaped to arms, and we were all bound up in a common fellowship of devotion to a common cause, and when to the roll of drums our men went out to fight, ready for the uttermost self-sacrifice, so stimulated were we that we almost were convinced that out of such an experience there might come a renaissance of new spiritual quality and life. Is there anybody who can blind his eyes to the facts now? Every competent witness in Europe or America has had to say that we are on a far lower moral level than we were before the war. Crimes of sex, crimes of violence have been unprecedented. Large areas of Europe are to-day in a chaos so complete that not one man in a thousand in America even dimly imagines it, with a breakdown of all the normal, sustaining relationships and privileges of civilized life, and with an accompanying collapse of character unprecedented in Christendom, I suppose, since the days of the Black Plague. If we are wise we will never again go down into hell expecting to come up with redeemed spirits.

To be sure, there are many individuals of such moral stamina that they have come out of this experience personally the better, not the worse. There are people who would build into the fiber

sense to read it and the wits to understand it. Always there was an initial reluctance about adopting new ways of carrying on war, from the time men substituted bows and arrows, which kill at a distance, for stone hatchets, which kill close at hand. Always the first users of these new means of killing were considered dishonorable for a little while and always in the end everybody adopted the new means and took them for granted. There was a great to-do about the use of gunpowder when first it was introduced, but by the time we came upon the scene the last shadow of that reluctance had vanished utterly.

Will Irwin is right when he says that April 22, 1915, is one of the outstanding dates in human history, because on that day "the Germans rolled across the Western trench line a cloud of iridescent, chlorine gas, which sent French, Arab, English, and Canadian soldiers by the thousands back to the hospitals, coughing and choking themselves to death from rotted, inflamed lungs." That day advertised to the world that the barriers were down and that there was nothing that modern science could discover too powerful or too horrible to be used in war. Already, in these few years, we have passed through all the stages of changing attitude toward the use of poison gas in war: first, unutterable indignation at the use of it; second, reluctant consideration of using it ourselves if the other side did; third, tentative employment of it to see how our people would react; fourth, frantic endeavor to beat the enemy out in the use of it before we were too late; until now all nations take it as a matter of course that poison gas will be used in any new war and are preparing it with the same nonchalance with which they prepare muskets. We in America have our Lewisite Gas. It probably is the best, up to date. It is invisible; no one can ever see it when it comes. It is heavier than air; it will sink into the lowest dugouts and cellars. Moreover, it has this element of exquisite efficiency: you do not have to breathe it to be killed by it; if it can touch your skin anywhere it is fatal. And it is estimated that in any landscape where it once is used nothing will grow for seven years. War has been bad enough in the past. But there is no man living with imagination adequate to picture what war is going to be.

of their character any experience that earth could offer them. But if you are thinking of the moral stability and progress of the world, surely there is nothing in the processes of war, as we have seen them, or the results of war, as they now lie about us, that would lead us to trust to them for help. Take one fact about this war: ten million men in the prime of their lives died on the battlefields. Some of us in the cities and the camps watched the way in which these men were selected. First, conscription in its broad net brought in all the men of the nation, at those ages when they might be expected to be in their physical and mental prime. Second, the draft boards weeded out the obviously unfit—the insane, the maimed, the halt, the blind—and sent them back into civil life to propagate the race that is to be, while all the best they sent up to the camps. Third, in the camps these picked men were put through the sieve again. The nervously unstable, the physically or mentally undeveloped, were strained out and sent back into civil life. When the armies went into battle they represented the flower of the nations' manhood at its best. And ten million of them fell, ten million of our race's hand-picked best. Of all France's youth between nineteen and thirty-one years of age, sixty per cent fell in battle. Just where are you going to get moral progress for the world out of that? What you are going to get out of that is inevitable racial decadence.

If that were the only fact involved in war, it ought to be evident that we can have war or civilization, but we cannot have both of them very long.

In the third place, *there is no limit to the methods of killing in war any more.* We used to think there was. We used to think that we could make a duel of war, controlled by regulations that would tone down war's worst barbarities so that the whole business could be carried on with a flourish of chivalry, decently and in order, and we dared to think that something like this had been actually accomplished by the Hague peace conventions. Now we know that when war gets under way all rules are like the seven green withes with which they bound the arms of Samson and which so easily he snapped.

History long ago would have taught us this had we had the

Already our military authorities are preparing the minds of people for new ways of killing men. Listen to General Swinton of the British army: "The final form of human strife, as I regard it, is germ warfare. I think it will come to that; and, so far as I can see, there is no reason why it should not, if you mean to fight . . . prepare now . . . we must envisage these new forms of warfare, and as far as possible expend energy, time and money in encouraging our inventors and scientists to study the waging of war on a wholesale scale instead of . . . thinking so much about methods which will kill a few individuals only at a time." This last war, therefore, which, when it was here, seemed to be a real one, was only "killing a few individuals at a time." The American Civil War was regarded as the greatest conflict up to date. Seven hundred thousand men fell in that war. The Franco-Prussian War was quite a war of its kind, and Robert Louis Stevenson told us that he used to lie on the ground of his island and kick the turf in agony at the thought of the weariness of marching men and the cries of the wounded. One hundred and eighty-four thousand men fell in that war. Yet when ten million men fell in this last war General Swinton tells us that we were only killing a few individuals at a time and that the hour has struck at last for us to get down to business and learn how really to make war—wholesale war—with germs and gas and lethal rays, concerning which last the general says that they will "shrivel up or paralyze or poison human beings." That is war as it actually will be waged. The barriers are all down. You never can put them up. There is no limit to the ways of killing any more.

That leads me logically to my next point: *there are no limits to the cost of war any more.* There used to be. War used to be comparatively inexpensive. The knights used to go out, furnishing their own equipment and maintaining their own expense. Even the wars in which the United States have engaged have been economic Lilliputians compared with this last conflict. Our own Revolutionary War cost only $170,000,000. A whole war, lasting eight years, only $170,000,000—what a bargain! Those were the good old days when you could get a real war cheap.

But when this last war drew to its conclusion it was costing not in indirect losses, but in direct expenses, $240,000,000 every day—$10,000,000 an hour.

You read in the papers this last week that Great Britain had just scrapped a hundred and thirteen outworn warships. Those dreadnaughts, a few years ago, cost a million dollars apiece. Now they cost forty million. Every rise in the scientific efficiency of war is met by a corresponding rise in the costs of war that go up by incredible leaps and bounds. Airplanes, gas, long-range guns, high explosives, ships, vast armies, world-wide campaigns—we almost need a new word for war, so different are the implications of it from anything humanity has ever faced before. And the economic consequences are appalling. The United States is the least of our brethren in bearing the financial burdens of war and feeling their weight, and yet even here *ninety-three per cent* of all our national taxes is going now for war, past, present, and to come. The total wealth of the French nation—everything the French people own: land, farms, mines, factories, houses, everything—in 1920 was estimated at $92,500,000,000. The total national debt of France to-day is $46,000,000,000, one half its total national wealth. How long do you think civilization can go on at a rate like that?

Here in the United States one finds everywhere a latent fear of that revolutionary spirit which is summed up in the word "Bolshevism." That fear, so far as the world at large is concerned, is justified. I share it keenly. But one does not find in the United States, as he wishes that he did, the clear recognition of one of the underlying causes of that revolutionary spirit. It is the intolerable burden of modern militarism and of modern war. The people of the world are very patient. The more one knows the facts, the more he wonders, not at their revolutionary spirit, but at their incredible patience. But they will not forever patiently endure the insufferable burdens of modern war. They will rise in their fury and blow this so-called civilization to bits first. For we can have war or civilization, but we cannot have both very long.

War is not glorious any more, is not a school of virtue any

more; there are no limits to its methods of killing or to its cost; and, now, *there is no possibility of sheltering any portion of the population from the direct effect of war any more.* Once there was. Once only a comparatively few men went out to fight, first the men who wanted to, later the men who were paid to. The area of operations was comparatively limited, the people engaged few, the number even indirectly affected small. Then at the time of the French Revolution there came a change; then, for the first time in modern history, the principle of national conscription for military service was instituted. Even then it did not spread widely or swiftly until 1870, when Prussia made it a settled policy of state. Within the lifetime of a large portion of this congregation, national conscription for military service has become a recognized policy of modern states.

Not only, however, are all men drawn into a modern war: when a nation fights, the women must join them. In the last war the women were at the front and behind the front they made the munitions. The war could not have been fought without them, and plans are now on foot for a thoroughgoing conscription of all women as of all men in the event of another war. And not only must all men and all women bear the burdens of war, all men, women and children must face the perils and meet the deaths of war. Some of us were in Paris during those long days when every twenty minutes a great shell burst, scattering civilians right and left regardless of age or sex. Some of us in London have seen all night long in the sweltering subways the English families huddled, mothers trying to protect their little broods from the indiscriminate bombing of the city. And everyone knows that before the war was over indiscriminate bombing was practised on both sides of the line and that already bombs of 1,000 pounds weight were prepared to annihilate Berlin in 1919. The inevitable development of modern war means that it shall not be waged against armies alone, but against populations. If you are going to have war at all, that is the kind of war you are going to have.

Have you any little children at home whom you love? If it were a question of grown men going out to fight as grown men

used to fight, because they liked it, then we might palliate the folly and forgive the sin. But these next wars, if they come, are going to kill babies as frequently and as cheerfully as they kill men. They will use germs, that are no respecters of persons; and bombs, that have no eyes to see where they may fall; and gas, that asks no questions about age or sex. If you say that we here in America are plentifully able to protect our children, I ask you: if, in protecting our children, we find ourselves caught up in a great modern war system where the only way to do it is to kill other people's children, will you like that very much better? This is what war means—the endeavor of a whole population to annihilate another whole population by means fair or foul. If you are going to have war, be sure in advance that this is the kind of war you are going to get.

Surely, you are ready to accept my last proposition: *we cannot reconcile Christianity and war any more.* It cannot be done. We have reached here the same pass that our fathers reached about slavery. For a long while they had dallied with it, excused it, compromised about it. But at last they came to the parting of the ways, where it was evident that no longer could they reconcile Christian civilization and slavery. And we have come to that parting of the ways about war. I am not a theoretical pacifist. I do not hold my ethics in a vacuum apart from the actualities; I recognize the place of force, of massed force if need be, in exigencies where other methods fail; but opposition to this building up of vast war machines in a deadly competition which will end with an inevitable crash, bringing down in ruin the priceless gains of our civilization, is not a matter of theoretical pacifism; it is a matter of common sense. Only a blind man can favor this organized madness. The men who know what war is are saying to us what Marshal Haig said to an audience in Britain: "The Gospel of Christ is the world's only social hope and the sole promise of world-peace. It is a crusade to which I urge you, a crusade not having for its object the redemption of a single city, however holy, but the freeing of the whole world from the devastating scourge of war." You have in your hands to-day the statement from our own General Tasker H. Bliss, lately Chief of Staff

of our armies.* It ought to touch our consciences. He is a man whose business is war, who knows what war is and what war will be and he is saying: You Christians, in the name of God and for the sake of humanity, make my business needless.

Let us say out loud what we often say in private: that in our national life and in our national government there are two factions. One is fairly pictured in the person of Mr. Harvey, our Ambassador—I will not say our representative—at the Court of Saint James; with his narrow nationalism, with his insistence that we fought this war for selfish purposes alone, and that without ideal or sentiment we will control our international policies by selfish motives only. The other is represented by men like Mr. Charles E. Hughes and Mr. Herbert Hoover, with their broad outlook, their international interest, their sincere desire for reduced armaments and for an association of the nations that will minimize the chances of war. Which of these two factions is going to come out on top? It depends altogether now on the pressure of public opinion. There never was such a chance in this country, I think, for a wave of expressed public opinion to decide a great national issue.

*"I would not take a single step in the way of disarmament except as the result of an agreement, thoroughly acceptable to us, between ourselves and the other principal nations engaged in the armament rivalry. My sole purpose therefore is to have such an international conference. Either there is no practical common sense among the people of the United States, or else they now know the essential facts that point to the necessity of such a conference . . .

"If the clergymen of the United States want to secure a limitation of armaments, they can do it now without further waste of time. If on an agreed-upon date they will simultaneously preach one sermon on this subject in every church of every creed throughout the United States, and conclude their services by having the congregation adopt a resolution addressed to their particular congressman urging on him the necessity of having a business conference of five nations on the subject, the thing will be done.

"If the churches cannot agree upon that, it will not be done, nor will it be done until the good God puts into them the proper spirit of their religion. The responsibility is entirely on the professing Christians of the United States. If another war like the last one should come, they will be responsible for every drop of blood that will be shed and for every dollar wastefully expended."

Was there ever a nation in the world that was in so good a position as we are in to take the lead? Nobody is going to suppose, if we do it, that we are afraid. Afraid of what? After our record in the late war, with our unchallenged primacy in strategic position and wealth and men, afraid of what? No one is going to suppose that we could not keep the pace. Everyone knows that we could keep the pace as long as anyone else could keep it. If the United States goes to Great Britain and France and Japan and says: "Gentlemen, let us stop this ruinous madness that in the end will bring down our civilization about our ears like the pleasure hall of the Philistines when Samson broke its pillars, let us sit down at a table and make plans for the disarmament of the world," everyone knows that there would be only one reason for our doing it: that the best in the United States had conquered the worst.

For the sake of the liberal, forward-looking people in the other nations who, against handicaps that we with difficulty can imagine, are fighting their militaristic cliques and do not want war, let us take the lead! For the sake of that Christ whose sacrifice on behalf of all the world we shall commemorate this afternoon and whom for so long time we have called "Lord, Lord," without doing the things that he said, let our country move out, at the front, toward that day when men shall "not learn war any more!"

Prayer

Eternal God, our Father, if ever we have prayed to Thee with slack and unstirred spirits, it is not now. We are pleading before Thee for the preservation of a civilization that our fathers died to build and to save. Thou seest written in our hearts the names of children whom we love better than ourselves and to whom we would not hand down a world committed to devastation and death and ruin unimaginable. God make us strong in the hour of our opportunity that we may do our duty and lead this people, as it has been so great in war, to be greater yet in peace. Amen.

March, 1922

Foreign Policy Association

[Formerly the League of Free Nations Association]

For a Liberal and Constructive American Foreign Policy

> *"More and more one feels that foreign policy is the touchstone of all policy."*—MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.

THE FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION originated in a dinner-discussion group of about fifty editors, publicists and experienced students of international affairs formed in New York City in the spring of 1918, for the purpose of "exploring and crystallizing latent interest in liberal democratic policies for which America stands in the great war and for which there is no organization at home." Early in its career the group reached the conclusion that two things were absolutely requisite to the development of a sound foreign policy for the United States:

> FIRST: Careful study of all sides of every important international question affecting the United States.
>
> SECOND: Communication of the results of such study to as large a number of liberal-minded Americans as possible, to the end that there might be a better public understanding of what our foreign problems are and of how they may be dealt with most effectually.

In the pursuit of these general aims, the group, long before the Paris Peace Conference, came out definitely in favor of the establishment of some sort of international organization, some sort of a league of free and self-determining nations, as a substitute for international anarchy and as an ameliorative of international hatred.* To realize the second of these aims, the group resolved

*Statement of Principles of the League of Free Nations Association (November, 1918). Sent on request.

itself into the *League of Free Nations Association*, a membership organization, in November, 1918, with the support and cooperation of a large number of enlightened and public-spirited citizens throughout the country. From that time to the present the Association has steadily labored for the formation and adoption of a liberal and constructive American foreign policy; and the better to express its basic purpose, it adopted in March, 1921, its present name—The Foreign Policy Association.

The Association has always been, and still is, strictly non-partisan or interpartisan. Working on the theory that public opinion is the permanent controlling agency in a democracy and that it can be sound only when it has informed itself, the Association has no interest to serve, no formula it wishes to impose, no postulate of government it wishes adopted. Anxious that the United States should have an attitude in foreign affairs that protects its own interests, it believes that in the long run a selfish, self-regarding policy is sure to be detrimental, and that a generosity of spirit and of act, a willingness to go half-way and to go first, and to put its confidence in whatever associations it forms, are genuinely in the American interest. Its method is, as far as possible, to enlighten by disclosing facts, by promoting debate, by attempting to develop a public interest in order to offset private interests or the narrow aims of a faction.

Since November, 1921, the weekly NEWS BULLETIN of comment on current developments has been substituted for the former monthly publication.

The New York Luncheons

To date forty-three notable and largely attended luncheons have been held in New York City under the auspices of the Association. At each a special phase of American foreign policy is discussed from different viewpoints,—never in the spirit of partisanship, but always with the idea of getting at the facts. These discussions constitute almost a novelty in American public life and are contributing potently to one of the chief purposes of

the Association—the formation of a liberal and enlightened public opinion on international relations. The whole series has been characterized by absolute freedom of viewpoint and fairness of discussion. As some one has said, the luncheons three years ago "marked the restoration of free speech in New York City."

Among the topics which have been discussed are: "Poland and Danzig," "Russia—Bolshevik and Anti-Bolshevik," "Equality of Economic Opportunity," "Labor's Part in the Peace Conference," "Ireland and the League," "British Labor and the Peace Treaty," "The Philippine Aspirations," "The Blockade of Soviet Russia," "The Shantung Issue," "The Mexican Crisis," "Free Speech and Free Press as Factors in International Affairs," "The Awakening of China," "Our Caribbean Policy," "Limitation of Armament," "The Reparations Issue," "The Economic Consequences of the Peace," "The Irish Question," "China and the Open Door," "The Conference to Date."

Among those who have taken part in the discussions are: Franklin D. Roosevelt, Frederic R. Coudert, George W. Wickersham, Miss Jane Addams, Colonel Raymond Robins, Major Thomas D. Thacher, Hamilton Holt, Toyokichi Iyenaga, John Graham Brooks, Major George Haven Putnam, John A. Ryan, Robert Morss Lovett, Frederic C. Howe, P. W. Wilson, Moissaye Olgin, Francis Hackett, Padraic Colum, Richard Roberts, David Lawrence, Walter Lippmann, Miss Margaret Bondfield, Sir George Paish, Ira Jewell Williams, Alonzo E. Taylor, Eamonn de Valera, St. John Irvine, Sir Horace Plunkett, Zachariah Chafee, Jr., Paul S. Reinsch, Dr. Yamei Kin, Pen Chung Chang, Paul D. Cravath, David Hunter Miller, Allyn H. Young, Lincoln Steffens, Allen Wardwell, Judge Otto Schoenrich, James Weldon Johnson, Herbert Adams Gibbons, J. A. M. de Sanchez, John Foster Dulles, Miss Zona Gale, Ivan Soukine, Norman Angell, Dr. Joseph Redlich, Hon. Norman H. Davis, Otto H. Kahn, Mrs. Marguerite E. Harrison, Paxton Hibben, Hon. James P. Goodrich, Henry W. Taft.

The League of Nations

The Association in its original statement of principles, issued in November, 1918, expressed its conviction that the basis of our American demands at the Paris Conference should be a liberal, democratic and inclusive league of nations. During the spring of 1919 it urged upon the American plenipotentiaries at Paris the formation of such an international organization. While recognizing that the Treaty of Versailles and the Covenant of the League of Nations did not measure up to

its hopes, the Association nevertheless supported the Covenant with all its strength, urging as long as the subject was being discussed in the Senate, such liberal and interpretative amendments as would tend to make the League more universal and more democratic. The defeat of the Covenant in the Senate only stimulated the Association to further efforts to bring the United States whole-heartedly into some form of continuous and close cooperation with the other nations at the earliest possible moment.

Mexico and the Caribbean

On our relations with Latin-America, especially with Mexico and the Caribbean, the Foreign Policy Association has a standing committee of experts. This Committee has studied very carefully the relations between the United States and the Latin-American Republics and has been of no little service in combating false and interested propaganda, and specifically in staving off American armed intervention in Mexico, and takes to itself a share of the credit for the gradual improvement in Mexican-American relations. In April, 1921, the Association addressed to Secretary Hughes a carefully drawn brief in the matter of the settlement of the existing disputes between the two countries.

The *New Republic*, in an editorial of September 28, 1921, says:

> "We are glad to give the Foreign Policy Association a considerable share of the credit for this advance [in our Mexican policy] and for the improvement of public opinion which makes possible improvement in diplomatic relations. The executives of the Association have been unwearied in their effort to discover and bring to public view the real source of difficulties with Mexico and to build up an intelligent, tolerant, generous attitude in regard to that country.
>
> "The Association has written an admirable chapter in the history of open diplomacy."

Russia

On Russian-American relations the Foreign Policy Association has a sub-committee of fifteen experts who are studying the diplomatic and economic relations of

berger Davis, T. Coleman du Pont, S. S. Fels, Walter Fisher, Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Pres. F. J. Goodnow, Prof. G. Stanley Hall, Mrs. E. H. Harriman, Mrs. Roland Hopkins, Pres. John G. Hibben, William Draper Lewis, Horatio G. Lloyd, Pres. Henry N. MacCracken, W. Fellowes Morgan, Dr. Leighton Parks, Pres. Ellen F. Pendleton, Rt. Rev. P. T. Rowe, D.D., Miss Belle Sherwin, Mrs. F. Louis Slade, Oscar S. Straus, Miss Ida M. Tarbell, F. W. Taussig, Mrs. Andreas Ueland, F. A. Vanderlip, Paul M. Warburg, Allen Wardwell, William Allen White, Rt. Rev. Cortlandt Whitehead, D.D., George W. Wickersham, Pres. Mary E. Woolley, Mrs. Thomas G. Winter.

The demand for speakers, literature and information grew to such proportions, and there was such an obvious overlapping of the activities of the various groups working towards the same end, that the F. P. A. in May, 1921, called a meeting of representatives of different organizations, which resulted in the formation of the New York Clearing House for Limitation of Armament, composed of several local and certain national organizations, with the object of eliminating duplication of time, effort and expense. The Clearing House, with headquarters in the office of the F. P. A., issued a weekly Bulletin, maintained a speakers' bureau, and distributed thousands of pamphlets, in addition to more than 9,000 copies of "The Next War" by Will Irwin.*

After the President had issued his call for the Conference, the Association in August called a meeting in Washington of all the national organizations interested in the success of the Conference, and out of this grew the National Council for Limitation of Armament, with headquarters at 532 Seventeenth Street, N. W., Washington. Miss Merriman, the Secretary of the F. P. A., acted as Chairman of the Clearing House and afterwards as Temporary Chairman of the National Council.

The Association hails the United States participation in the Conference as a notable advance over the policy of isolation and "little Americanism" of the last two years and as an encouraging step towards more complete cooperation in international affairs in which the welfare of the United States is inextricably bound up. The ending of the rivalry in capital ship-building, and the abrogation of

*The work of the Clearing House was taken over in October by the N. Y. Council for Limitation of Armament, 6 East 45th Street.

the American Government to Russia. Under its auspices there was compiled in the spring of 1920 a volume of the available diplomatic exchanges between the various Russian governments and our State Department from March, 1917, to March, 1920.* The book was well received and in none of the reviews, many of which were highly laudatory, was there the slightest charge of partisanship or prejudice.

Reduction of Armaments

The first plank in the revised "program for immediate action" adopted by the Foreign Policy Association in December, 1920, declared that the F. P. A. would

> "Oppose the new three-year building program for the navy as economically unwise, and as making renewal of naval rivalry inevitable; support all measures leading to a joint understanding between Japan, Great Britain, and the United States for a naval holiday; work for the progressive disarmament of all nations."

Since then, the Association has thrown all its weight into the fight for reduction of armaments as a first and obvious step towards better international relations. While there was at that time a feeling against competitive naval building, public sentiment was unorganized, uninformed and inarticulate. In the educational work of arousing the country to a realization of the tremendous issues at stake, the Association has played its part. A national sub-committee on reduction of armament was formed in April, 1921

> FIRST: To urge President Harding to call an international conference to consider the limitation of naval armament by international agreement.
>
> SECOND: To urge Congress to postpone final action on the pending naval apropriations until the suggested international conference has been held.

Among the members of the committee were:

Judge George W. Anderson, Edward W. Bok, Thatcher M. Brown, E. M. Bulkley, Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Joseph P. Cotton, Frederic R. Coudert, Paul D. Cravath, Seymour L. Cromwell, R. Fulton Cutting, J. Lion-

---

*RUSSIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS, March, 1917—March, 1920. Documents and Papers. Compiled and edited by C. K. Cumming and Walter W. Pettit, under the direction of John A. Ryan, D. D., J. Henry Scattergood and William Allen White, at the request of the League of Free Nations Association.

Harcourt, Brace and Howe, New York, 1920. 400 pp. $3.50 (price to members, $2.50).

the Anglo-Japanese Alliance have gone far in removing the threat of war in the Far East. A candid student of the work of the Conference must, however, recognize its failure to limit land armament, to limit the number of auxiliary craft, to restrict the number and size of submarines, to deal effectively with new methods of warfare, and the incomplete and unsatisfactory character of some of the work in reference to the Far East. The rebirth of interest in international affairs encourages us to renewed effort to arouse the American public to the importance of these unsettled points.

The Far East

Through its luncheon-conferences, study groups and special committee devoted to problems of the Pacific and the Far East, the F. P. A. is contributing towards the solution of perhaps the most difficult problem in our international relations.

For an International Economic Conference

From the most diverse sources indisputable evidence is accumulating as to the increasing economic, financial and industrial demoralization in large parts of Europe and of Asia. The F. P. A. long ago insisted upon the need for our economic cooperation with Europe and has emphasized various phases of the problem in its Bulletins and at the luncheon discussions.

It is at present working to bring about our participation in the Genoa Conference.

Finance

The Foreign Policy Association in the prosecution of its educational and constructive program has accomplished a good deal on a comparatively small budget. It is dependent for its financial support wholly upon voluntary contributions. The annual membership fee is $5.00 and upwards. *Every American citizen interested in the development of a sane and sound liberal foreign policy for the United States is earnestly urged to contribute to the utmost of his or her ability and to help increase the membership and with it the force of public opinion behind our program.*

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

[FORMERLY THE LEAGUE OF FREE NATIONS ASSOCIATION]

For a Liberal and Constructive American Foreign Policy

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS:

3 WEST TWENTY-NINTH STREET, NEW YORK CITY

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

JAMES G. McDONALD, Chairman
EDWIN BJORKMAN
BRUCE BLIVEN
COURTENAY CROCKER
STEPHEN P. DUGGAN
HUGHELL FOSBROKE
ROBERT H. GARDINER
CARLTON J. H. HAYES
CHARLES P. HOWLAND
PAUL U. KELLOGG
GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY
GEORGE M. La MONTE
MRS. HENRY GODDARD LEACH
OWEN R. LOVEJOY
RALPH S. ROUNDS
MRS. V. G. SIMKHOVITCH
MRS. WILLARD D. STRAIGHT
MRS. CHARLES L. TIFFANY
MISS LILLIAN D. WALD

CHRISTINA MERRIMAN
Executive Secretary

ESTHER G. OGDEN
Membership Secretary

ROBERT H. GARDINER
Treasurer

NATIONAL COUNCIL

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
AND

MISS JANE ADDAMS
Illinois
ARTHUR E. BESTOR
New York
RT. REV. BENJ. BREWSTER, D.D.
Maine
JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS
Massachusetts
CHARLES C. BURLINGHAM
New York
GEORGE BURNHAM, JR.
Pennsylvania
MISS MABEL CHOATE
New York
WINSTON CHURCHILL
Vermont
JOHN DEWEY
New York
FRANK HAIGH DIXON
New Jersey
ROBERT ERSKINE ELY
New York
MRS. J. MALCOLM FORBES
Massachusetts
FELIX FRANKFURTER
Massachusetts
FERRIS GREENSLET
Massachusetts
FREDERIC C. HOWE
District of Columbia
HORACE M. KALLEN
Massachusetts
EDWARD KREHBIEL
California
THOMAS W. LAMONT
New York
SAM A. LEWISOHN
New York
BISHOP FRANCIS J. McCONNELL
Pennsylvania
JULIAN W. MACK
Illinois
MISS RUTH MORGAN
New York
ROBERT R. MOTON
Alabama
MRS. BEVERLEY B. MUNFORD
Virginia
WILLIAM A. NEILSON
Massachusetts
MRS. GORDON NORRIE
New York
J. J. PETTIJOHN
Minnesota
GIFFORD PINCHOT
Pennsylvania
ROSCOE POUND
Massachusetts
VERY REV. H. C. ROBBINS
New York
REV. JOHN A. RYAN
District of Columbia
HENRY R. SEAGER
New York
GRAHAM TAYLOR
Illinois
JOHN A. VOLL
Pennsylvania
HENRY M. WAITE
New York
FRANK P. WALSH
Missouri
MRS. H. OTTO WITTPENN
New Jersey

THE FAR EAST

A manual
for study groups

ISSUED BY

NEW YORK COUNCIL
FOR THE LIMITATION OF ARMAMENT
6 EAST 45TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Ten Cents a Copy

FOREWORD

In preparing this outline the aim is to cover the *subject thoroughly without involving the readers in too much detail. A greater knowledge of the Far Eastern situation is necessary on the part of the public if the United States is to play an intelligent and effective part in world affairs. The Washington Conference has made this more evident than ever before. It is to help supply that knowledge that this pamphlet is written. The Council wishes to express its gratitude to Mr. Froelick and the staff of Asia Magazine for their invaluable assistance in preparing the text, map, and bibliography, and to the many friends who have read it and offered helpful suggestions.*

LUCY A. DEWEY,
Editor.

TOPIC I. DEFINITION OF TERMS.

1. **Treaty Powers** are those nations having treaties with China which give them certain privileges.

2. **Treaty Ports** are port cities opened by China to foreign residence and trade.

3. **Extraterritoriality** is the right of foreign powers to make the laws for and exercise jurisdiction over their nationals in China. Consuls are the judicial authorities and hold courts, some of the powers have high courts in Shanghai.

4. **Chinese Maritime Customs** are under the control of foreigners and the money is used to pay the interest on foreign loans. The tariff rates are fixed by treaty.

5. **Tariff Autonomy** is the right now asked by China to fix her own customs tariff.

6. **Likin** is the system of internal provincial and city tariff charges.

7. **Foreign Concessions** and **settlements**—In the treaty ports certain sections of the cities are set aside and governed and policed by the foreigners who live there.

8. **Foreign Post Offices.**—Some treaty powers have the right to maintain their own post offices in the treaty ports quite independent of the Chinese post office.

9. **Leased Areas**—a polite term for the forced cession of Chinese territories to foreign powers. The principal ones are:—Kiaochow with Tsingtau, acquired by Germany and now under Japan, Kwangchowan to France, Kowloon to England and Weihaiwei to England.

10. **Spheres of Influence** are claims for preference in the section covered. Industrial privileges are granted and no territory in the sphere is to be alienated to another power. The principal ones are the Yangtze Valley to England; South China to France; Shantung to Germany now Japan; Territory north of the Great Wall to Russia now Japan.

11. **"Most Favored Nation Clause"** of a treaty automatically gives privileges granted to one power to all of them.

(References—Bowman, Hornbeck, Latourette's China, Willoughby, Morse.)

TOPIC II. OUTLINE OF SE HISTORY

1. "Opium War" 1842, Brit[illegible] ceive just treatment of subjects and fair terms of trade [illegible] igners. Chinese regarded it as attempt to force opium on [illegible]

   Results: Opening of [illegible] treaty ports, cession of Hongkong to British, tariff rates [illegible] ashed by treaty, indemnity to Britain, official correspondence [illegible] nducted on equal terms and treaties with France and United States followed. U. S. introduced extraterritoriality.

2. "Arrow War" 1860, with Great Britain, cause minor, War carried to north and finally treaties signed with Great Britain, France, Russia and United States.

   Results: Five more treaty ports opened, foreigners allowed to travel in interior, Christianity tolerated, further revision of tariff duties. Russia began acquisition of Eastern Siberia, collection of customs revenues fell into hands of foreigners.

3. War with France in 1885 gave her Annam and Tongking in the south.

4. War with Japan 1894 over Korean troubles.

   Results: Japan got Formosa and Pescadores Islands, Liaotung Peninsula with Port Arthur and indemnity, European powers led by Russia forced return of Liaotung peninsula.

5. After 1897 Germany leased Kiaochow Bay and got control of Shantung Railroad. Russia leased Port Arthur and connected it with Trans-siberian. Great Britain leased Weihaiwei and territory on mainland opposite Hongkong, France got Kwang-Chowan in Southern China. Spheres of influences were cut out.

6. Boxer uprising with indemnities 1900. Railway concessions were made. 1902 Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

7. Russo-Japanese war resulted in all Russia's South Manchurian interests, with Port Arthur going to Japan, Japan's paramount interest in Korea, recognized. Korea annexed 1910.

8. Revolution 1911 drove out Manchu dynasty and established republic.

9. Events of War. 1914 Japan captured Tsingtau (Kiaochow) and drove the Germans from Shantung, promising to return territory to China when the war ended. 1915 Japan presented 21 demands which would practically give Japan sovereignty over China. 1917 China entered the war at the invitation of the United States and in spite of Japanese intrigues to prevent it.

10. Paris Peace Conference of 1919 gave German rights in Shantung to Japan and China refused to sign treaty. In 1920 China concluded a separate peace with Germany. The Japanese have various times attempted to settle the question with China who refused on the ground that unconditional return of Shantung was the only acceptable thing.

(References—All the books treat some period of this.)

TOPIC III. Peculiar Character of China which has made these foreign aggressions possible.

1. Traditional feeling of the Chinese that foreign affairs are the business of the government in which they have no part.

2. Ignorance, arrogance and fundamental weakness of the non-Chinese Manchu dynasty made possible the encroachments before the revolution of 1911.

3. Ignorance of the Chinese people, 90% of whom cannot read or write makes slow and difficult the formation of a genuine public opinion that will act.

4. Corruption and greed of the military leaders who are willing to sell anything for their own personal profit.

(References—Cheng, Putnam Weale's Fight for the Republic, Dewey.)

TOPIC IV. The United States in consistently advocating a different policy has become isolated in the Orient.

1. Protest of the United States against foreign aggressions on China and the development of the American Far Eastern policy.

   a. In 1899 the United States saw the danger of the dismemberment of China by the European powers. John Hay, Secretary of

State, carried on a correspondence which led to the declaration of the policies of the open door and territorial integrity of China. That is, no part of the country should be alienated or marked off for exclusive development.

b. In 1908 the Root-Takahira agreement pledged the United States and Japan to respect the open door in China.

c. In 1917 the Lansing-Ishii agreement recognized the special interests of Japan in China but reaffirmed the open door policy. China protested this.

d. In 1909 the United States proposed a scheme for the neutralization of the Manchurian railways to prevent further trouble between Russia and Japan in that territory. In 1910 an agreement between those two powers made any such neutralization impossible.

2. The new consortium of 1920 formed at the instance of the United States and including Great Britain, France, and Japan is a new step in foreign finance in China. Money is to be loaned only for railways and there is to be supervision to see that it does not go for political purposes. It is thus a purely business affair. So far China has not borrowed any money from this group. Japan at first refused to join without certain reservations regarding loans for use in her spheres of influence but under protest and pressure from the United States finally agreed to come in on the same terms as the other nations. There is a feeling in China, however, that the reservations were allowed Japan secretly.

3. France and Great Britain are the only important European agressors left. Japan was originally only a follower of the West, primarily defending herself against the West. Continuation of Japan's policy of aggression threatens the peace of the world.

4. Desirability of Great Britain and France taking the lead in surrendering fruits of past aggressions. Japan has more at stake.

5. Great Britain and France unwilling to give up what they have thru fear of other powers and importance of their holdings in an economic way. Necessity for such surrender as a sign of good faith in initiating new regime.

6. Failure of Great Britain and France to back the United States in a positive anti-aggression stand leaves the United States and Japan face to face on the issue.

(References—Cheng, Latourette's China, Dewey, Hornbeck. Kawakami's Real Japanese Question, Fletcher.)

TOPIC V. Elements of War in Japan's suspicion of the United States and America's suspicion of Japan.

1. Japan's suspicion of the United States.

   (a) Sense of injustice.

   (b) Partly the result of fear of tremendous potential power of the wealth of the United States practically to exclude Japanese capital and enterprise from the development of China.

   (c) Japan's suspicion of our possession of the Philippines, Guam, etc., and their possible fortification in an offensive war against Japan, to back our "economic imperialism" in Asia.

2. United States' suspicion of Japan.

   (a) Sentimental feeling for China.

   (b) Fear that Japan's imperial expansion is aimed to secure iron, coal, etc., for offensive warfare to injure or cut off our trade with the Orient.

   (c) Our suspicion that Japan's imperial ambition has the broader goal of militaristic domination of the eastern Asiatic people for possible race conflict of yellow against white.

(References—Kawakami, Keeno, Gleason, Osborne, Dewey, Reid, Gulick.)

TOPIC VI. Japan's legitimate needs and their protection.

1. Japan is densely populated and rapidly increasing in population.
2. Failure of emigration from Japan to its own unpopulated territories.
3. Effects of Japan's new industrialism in decreasing the birth rate and making possible the support of a larger population at home.
4. Japan's growth in wealth thru industrial development and her need of markets.

(References—Kawakami, Kuno, Gleason, Osborne, Dewey, Reid, Gulick.)

TOPIC VII. Reasons for believing that Japan can best meet her requirements thru a policy of real cooperation and legitimate trade expansion in China.

1. Losses sustained by Japan thru the Chinese boycott of 1919.

2. Losses due to bad loans to corrupt Chinese officials.

3. Possibility for friendship between Chinese and Japanese as evidenced in relations just after the Chino-Japanese war.

4. A strong China will be a great buyer in the future while her own industries are developing and her standard of living rising Japan would be the natural supplier of this market.

5. If Japan wins the good will of the Chinese there will be increased opportunity for her to join with Chinese, and Chinese and Americans and Europeans jointly, for the legitimate development of China.

(References—Kuno, Bowman, Wood.)

TOPIC VIII. **Reasons why the United States is the one nation that must fight the old policy of national expansion by aggression or bring about international cooperation to protect the weak and check the strong nations. Japan is the chief exponent of the old policy and hence the chief concern of the United States in any such program.**

1. Independent spirit of the United States in breaking away from old traditions. Its geographical position and wealth which protect it from the accusation of attempting to force out other countries for its own advantage.

2. Sensitiveness of the Japanese people to public opinion and their desire to stand well in the eyes of the world. Growing liberalism in Japan.

3. If we force the adoption of a new international policy we must accept increased responsibility for the protection of China and of the international relations of the Far East.

4. Responsibility especially to see that our great financial power is not abused to the injustice of China, Japan, or the European nations.

(References—Dewey, Bullard.)

TOPIC IX. Means at hand for the United States to force a world policy of international cooperation.

1. Possible granting by United States of certain European concessions desired by those powers give this country the right to demand in return a new international order.

TOPIC X. Outlines of a constructive plan for China to prove good intentions of the powers in China.

(a) International court for the Far East where the cases of China and other aggrieved nations could be heard and decisions given.

(b) Self restraining ordinance among the chief powers governing the economic struggle to substitute international cooperation for the scramble for concessions.

(c) Restoration to China of sovereign rights, tariff, abolition of foreign post offices, modification of exterritorial rights, abolition of spheres of influence, and leased territories, granting full Chinese oversight of railways.

(d) Development of the influence of the group of associated modern Chinese bankers, industrial leaders, educators, and gentry. These groups have confidence of the people and represent the growing public opinion and national feeling of China.

(e) The result of this plan would afford China time to work out its own political salvation free from foreign interruptions and influence.

(References—Gulick, Reid, Bullard, Kawakami's Real Japanese Question, and Osborne are suggestive along this line.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Bau, Mengchien Joshua—Foreign Relations of China: Fleming H. Revell, N. Y. 1921, Series of pamphlets (6). Detailed with notes containing excellent bibliography.

Bowman, Isaiah—The New World, Problems in Political Geography, World Book Co., Yonkers, N. Y., 1921, Chap. 31 the Far East, good outline of foreign concessions in China, results of the war in the Far East and probable policy of Japan, Chap. 32 Japan's extension in the Pacific, Bibliography.

Bullard, Arthur—The A. B. C.'s of Disarmament and the Pacific Problem, Macmillan, N. Y. 1921, Collection of newspaper articles on the problems of the Washington Conference.

Cheng, Sih-gung—Modern China, a Political study, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1919, a sketch of internal and external political conditions by a Chinese who knows his subject well.

Fletcher, C. Brunsdon—The Problem of the Pacific, Henry Holt, N. Y. 1919, Detailed account of developments in the Pacific with the problems at the end of the war.

Gibbons, Herbert Adams—New Map of Asia, 1921, Century Maps, Study of development of European domain in Asia, down to the Treaty of Versailles.

Hara, Katsuro—Introduction to the History of Japan. Putnam Sons, N. Y. 1920, History of Japan before 1866.

Gleason, George—What Shall I think of Japan? the Macmillan Company, N. Y. 1921. By a sympathetic and well-informed student of the country on the basis of nineteen years' residence. Contains bibliography of books pro-Japanese, anti-Japanese and non-partisan.

Hornbeck, Stanley K.—Contemporary Politics in the Far East, Appleton, N. Y. 1918, China since the Revolution, Japan since 1860. Foreign concessions in China, relations between China, Japan and the United States up to the entry of the U. S. into war, Appendix with recent documents.

Kawakami, K. K.—The Real Japanese Question, Macmillan Co. 1921, Discussion of problems of the Eastern and Western civilizations with suggestions for their solution by a Japanese propagandist in this country.

Kawakami, K. K., Editor—What Japan Thinks, Macmillan Co., N. Y. 1921, Collection of the writings of several prominent Japanese on timely subects.

Kuno, Yoshi S.—What Japan Wants, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., N. Y., Statement by a Japanese of Japan's aspirations in America, China, Siberia and at home.

Latourette, Kenneth S.—Development of China, Houghton Mifflin Co. 1917, Development of Japan, Macmillan 1918, excellent short accounts of the subects with first class bibliography.

Morse, Hosea Ballou—International Relations of the Chinese Empire, 3 vols. Longman's Green, London, 1918, Standard history of the period before the Revolution of 1911.

Osborne, Sidney—The New Japanese Peril, Macmillan, N. Y. 1921, Review of events in the Pacific since the outbreak of the war, with special emphasis on Japan's predatory actions.

Reid, Gilbert—China, Captive or Free? Dodd Mead, 1921, Foreign encroachments in China since 1914, sympathetic to China.

Taft, Henry W.—Japan and the Far Eastern Conference, Macmillan 1921.

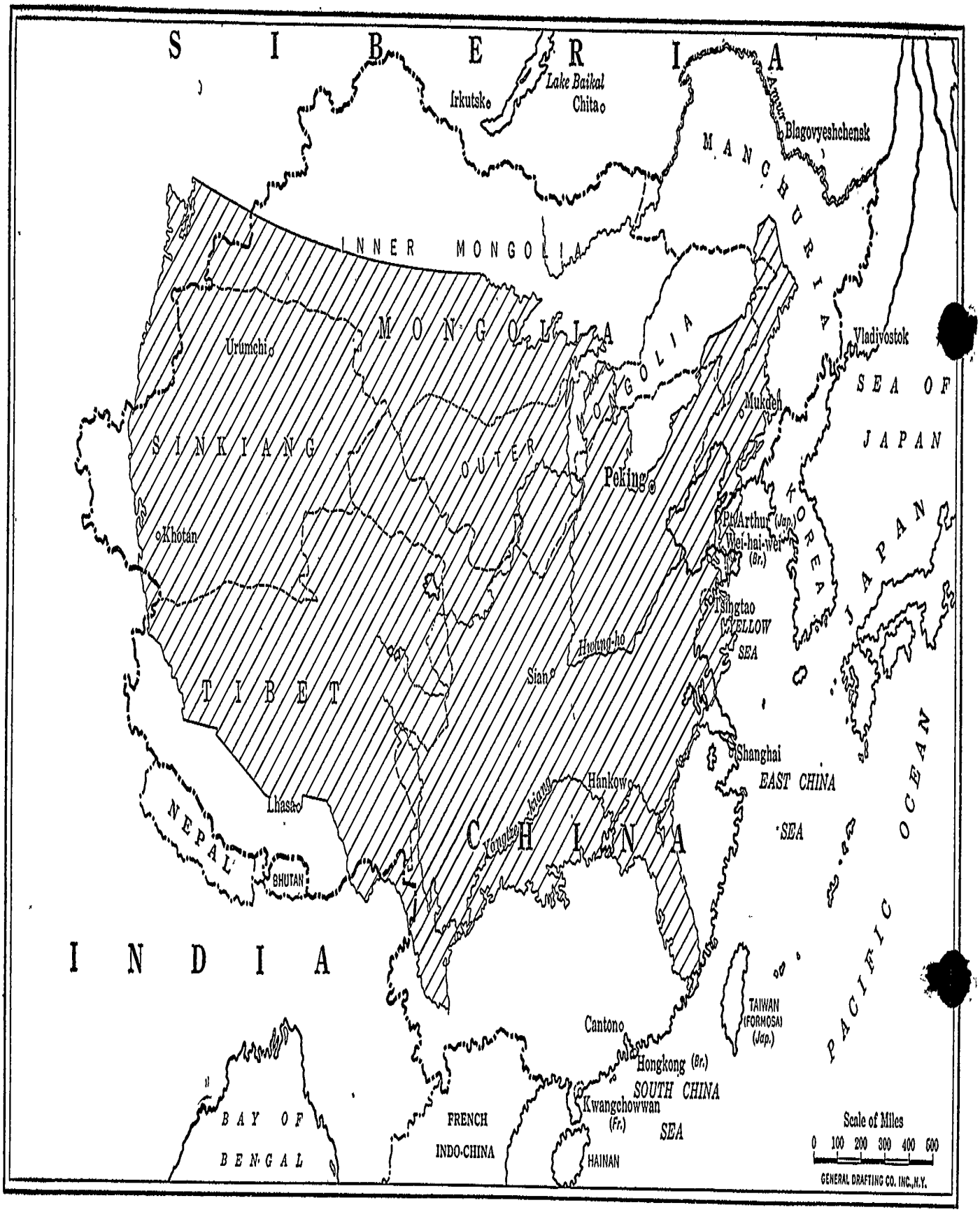
Treat, Payson J.—Japan and the United States 1853-1921, Houghton Mifflin, N. Y. 1921, Lectures given in Japan in the autumn of 1921, tracing relationship between the two countries. Accurate as to facts and giving the interpretation sympathetic to Japan. Interesting example of the way Japan wants things seen.

Vinacke, Harold M.—Modern Constitutional Development in China, Princeton University Press, 1920, Modern Chinese History from constitutional point of view.

Weale, Putnam, B. L.—Fight for the Republic in China, Dodd Mead Co. 1917, Excellent history from the revolution to 1917. The Truth about China and Japan 1919, Sketch of Chino-Japan Relations up to Paris Conference. Excellent Appendix with important documents.

Willoughby, Westel W.—Foreign rights and interests in China, Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1920, Standard authority on subject.

Wood, G. Zay—The Chino-Japanese Treaties of May 25th, 1915. The Twenty-one demands. Fleming H. Revell, 1921.



CHINA AND OUTLYING TERRITORIES COMPARED TO THE U. S.

PAMPHLETS.

New Republic Pamphlets. Number 1: China, Japan, and the U. S. A. by John Dewey. Collection of series of articles on Far Eastern affairs written in China from May, 1919, to October, 1921. While some of them are out of date and conditions have changed since the writing they are interesting and valuable. Published by the Republic Publishing Company, 421 West 21st St., New York.

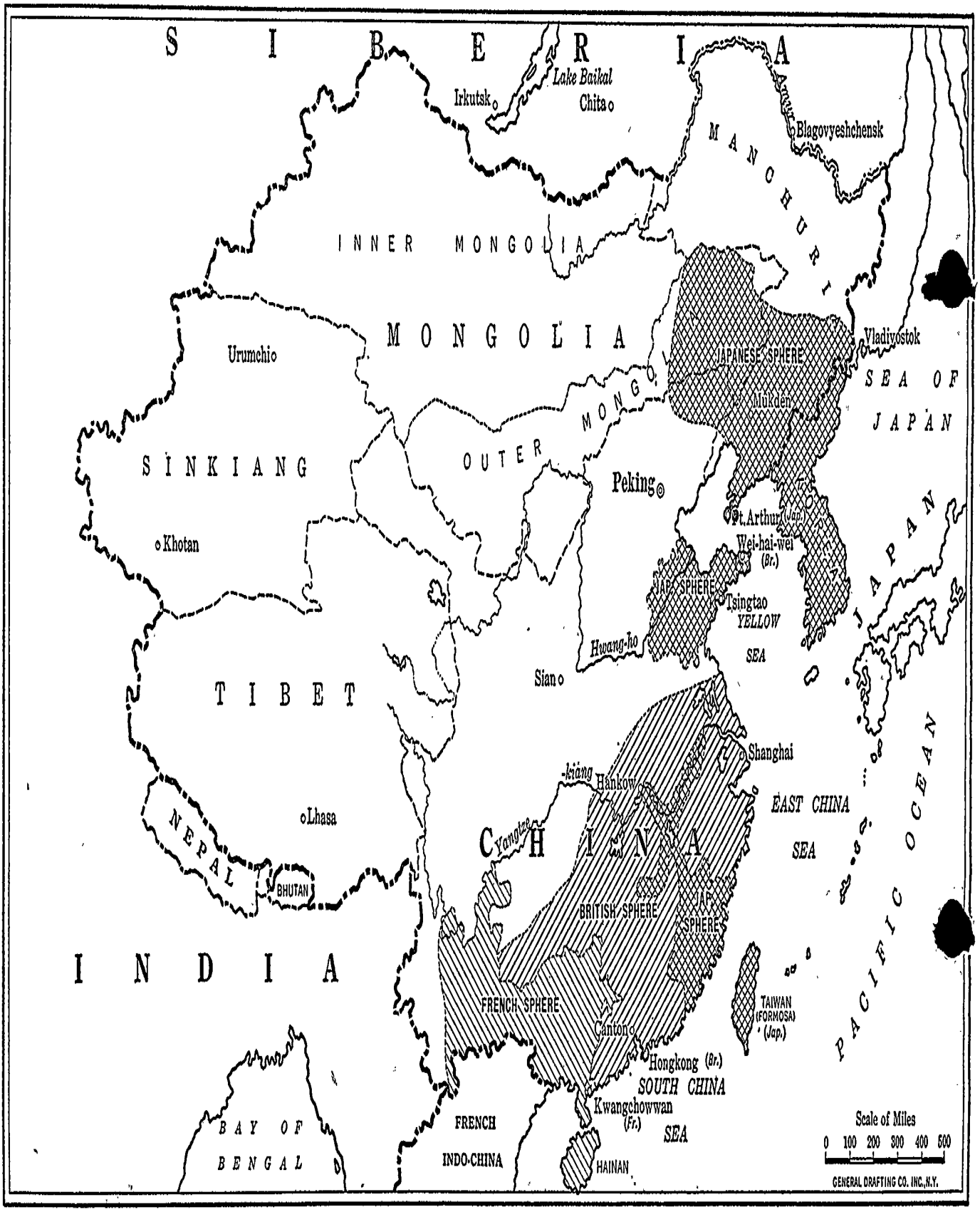
The ABC's of the Twenty-one Demands, by Thomas F. Millard. Reprinted by the Chinese Students' Committee on the Washington Conference, 505 West 124th St., New York City. Written "to visualize to Americans the exact meaning of this curious phase of Oriental diplomacy in its relationship to the traditional American policy of the Open Door of Equal Opportunity in the Far East."

Bases for the just settlement of Far Eastern questions. The official statement of the Chinese Students' Committee on the Washington Conference, 505 West 124th St., New York City.

Problems of the Pacific and the Far East, by Sydney L. Gulick. Commission on International Justice and Goodwill of the Federated Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City. Brief and clear review of all sides of the subject.

Peace Depends upon Great Britain, by Julia Ellsworth Ford. Published by Mrs. Ford at 43 West 74th Street, New York City. Brief account of Britain's activities in the Far East.

This bibliography is intended for reference and does not pretend to be complete. The names of more books may be had from the bibliographies in the volumes given and from library catalogues. Magazine articles and the daily papers should be consulted for current developments.



SPHERES OF INFLUENCE AND LEASED TERRITORIES IN CHINA.

France and the European Settlement

an address by

MR. WALTER LIPPMANN*

before the Foreign Policy Association
Hotel Astor, New York, February, 1922

FIRST, I wish to make clear that I have not come here in order to issue moral judgments on any nation, or to discuss international relations in terms of saints and sinners, heroes and villains.

I am sure we are all convinced that no good comes of the kind of discussion which attempts to separate whole populations into categories of good and evil, for that whole rigmarole of discussion simply adds to the confusion of a sufficiently confused world. Nevertheless, there are circumstances which have caused France to take a special position on reparations, disarmament, reconstruction and reconciliation. It is a fact that the position of France officially differs widely from the moderate opinion of her former Allies.

Now, it is not true, in my opinion, that France has separated herself from her former Allies. What has really happened is that they have separated themselves from France. (Slight Applause). For every statement in the articles of Monsieur Poincairé in the last few months, you can find a perfect text in the speeches of Mr. Lloyd George and of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge ("Hear, hear," and slight applause).

Within three years, a member of Mr. Lloyd George's cabinet was saying that he would squeeze the German lemon until the pips squeaked, and Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, all through the terrible winter of 1919, was imploring High Heaven to come and save the world from the terrible consequences of a peace based on the armistice pledges.

So it is not France that has suddenly become vindictive, or greedy, or imperialistic, or anything else. The fact is that we have changed, and that we have not yet had the grace to say openly that we have changed.

Now, why has this change come about? And why has there been so little change in France? The answer to that question is an extremely complicated one, and could not possibly be given in a short twenty minutes, but there are a few main things which perhaps may help us if we keep them in mind. I want to discuss first the military question, the question of national security. So far as the United States goes, the war revealed a strength that we had not suspected, and we feel more confident in a military way of our own power than we ever did before. The result is we feel very secure, and find it extremely difficult to believe that anybody who feels insecure is not unreasonable.

The British case is more intricate. So far as the naval threat to the United Kingdom goes, the war completely removed the German navy, and the Washington conference has ended all threat of a new competition. But the security of the British empire, as distinguished from the security of the

*Mr. Lippmann's speech was not written out; this transcript is from a stenographic report.

United Kingdom alone, does not depend merely upon a navy which is able to control the seas. The British policy for many generations has rested on a theory of the balance of power on the continent of Europe. That means that the balance of military forces on the continent shall be such as to checkmate itself. Only when it is checkmated does Britain feel able to deal with her vast responsibilities and her vast interests outside of Europe.

Now, the war destroyed that balance on the continent and rendered one nation supreme, and the plain fact is that the Englishmen who really determine the imperial policy, and who make the mind of Britain on strategic and large questions of affairs in the world—those men are today more concerned about the relative weakness of Germany than they are by any fear of a revival of her strength.

The French system of security rested on an alliance with Russia. When that alliance existed France was merely one factor in the European situation. Today the alliance no longer exists, but France alone is much stronger than she has been for one hundred years. In other words, isolated in a military way, she has become supreme, and the very supremacy of France is her danger. She stands on a continent, unopposed for the moment, but around her are nations, Germany, Russia, Italy and England, no one of whom will for any long period of time accept as permanent the present relative superiority of France. And France knows that, and that is why the spectacle of a nation with the largest army in Europe goes side by side with the spectacle of a nation constantly complaining that it has something to be afraid of.

The longer France stays in her present high, but unnatural, position, the more dangerous her future becomes.

You can illustrate the point by an extremely rough illustration. Supposing that Mr. McDonald and Mr. Ratcliffe and Mr. Babcock and I should engage in a fight with Dempsey. Suppose after a while we managed to throw him, to break his arm, to blacken his eye, and he lies there prostrate and panting for breath. We then take Mr. Babcock and plant him firmly on Dempsey's chest, with his hand on Dempsey's throat, and leaving him in that triumphant position, we all go home (Laughter and Applause).

Now you may ask, why is it necessary at this late date to discuss international relations in such a brutal fashion, why can not we talk instead about the new order that was to come out of the war. Well, the reason is a simple one. The new order, when it comes, will have to rest on faith, a faith in pledges, a faith in promises, a belief that people will keep their word when they give it.

Now, France has had a very morbid experience in the last few years with pledges. She got a pledge from Russia not to make a separate peace, and Russia made a separate peace. She got a pledge from Russia to repay the loans, and Russia repudiated them. She got a pledge from England for a military alliance, and England did not ratify it. She got a pledge from the United States for a military alliance and a strong league of nations. The United States did not ratify either. That is a bad experience with pledges.

But the biggest and worst experience that France has had has been over the question of reparations. If you put your minds back to 1917 and 1918, you will remember the extreme war weariness that existed in France, and the strength of the defeatist agitation both in high circles and in low. Not much of that got through the censorship, but I think that all well informed people know how very close France was at that time to giving up

the struggle. And you will remember also how Americans and British rushed to France and told her that if she would only stick it out to a victory, all things that had happened to her would be made good.

That propaganda was spread all over France, and the ordinary Frenchman was made to believe that after a victory miracles would happen. Well, the promise that the miracles would happen was written into the Treaty of Peace, and then, no sooner written, but all the rest of us, compelled by the logic of facts and by common sense, set about trying to revise those pledges. We did it, we said, in the interest of the peace of the world. We said also that we did it in the interest of our own trade. But whatever the reasons, we did it.

To a Frenchman led on by the promises we have made, and to a Frenchman looking at the desperate condition of his own budget, the action, the haste with which we have tried to do that, has seemed treacherous and disloyal. I don't want you to misunderstand me. I fully sympathize with the effort to revise the reparations as fast as possible, but we are trying to understand the state of mind of another people. And when the revision takes place without a campaign of education to show why it has to occur, the present hysterical state of mind was bound to result.

It is not surprising then that with all the uncertainties and with all the broken pledges and with all the disappointments that France has suffered, there should have been troubled waters, in which politicians could fish. And they have. But the most surprising thing about it is that while in public they have gone on stirring up the old hatreds and old resentments of the war, in private they are tolerably reasonable people. The gap between what men in high places say in public and what they say in private is amazing. (Laughter.)

Now, Mr. Lloyd George's public utterances today probably more nearly represent his private utterances than do the utterances of any other Prime Minister in the world. Mr. Harding will not make an utterance on the vital questions of European reconciliation, but we can guess from the disappointment expressed at the White House yesterday over the fact that the Senate pretends that it is going to collect interest on the debt, that Mr. Harding's real opinions do not differ from those of most informed people.

But the most striking case of all occurs in the newspapers this morning. There is an interview with Mr. Loucheur, formerly minister of the liberated regions, in the Briand Cabinet. Mr. Loucheur is France's principal reparation expert. He has been out of office I think three weeks, and the result of three weeks of private life is that he has reduced the capital sum which he asks Germany to pay from thirty-four and a half billion dollars to twelve and a half billion dollars. (Laughter.)

Now that terrible man Keynes, John Maynard Keynes, "the well known pro-German," reduced the German liability to nine billions, so that the whole difference at this moment between the most radical critic of the Peace Treaty, and the chief reparations expert of France, is about three and a half billion dollars capital sum.

It is apparent from that, that the informed opinion in the world is not so far apart, and therefore it seems to me the time has come for people who have not to face Congress or the French Chamber of Deputies, moderate people outside, to see whether they can come to any kind of an agreement on a program of reconstruction and settlement.

And I am going to abuse the privilege of being the first speaker by

suggesting in an extremely tentative fashion what seems to me a possible basis of discussion as to the main principles on which people in all countries might agree to make a settlement in Europe.

I should begin with a preamble containing a sentence from an editorial in the London Economist of January 14th. It is this: "An understanding between the Allies and Germany on economic and political matters is urgent, but for Britain the only road to Berlin lies through Paris."

There can be, it seems to me, no talk about excluding France from the rest of Europe, or any of the wilder talk which is current enough in Europe today about Anglo-German alliances and the like. On that basis, I suggest then, that in order to create a sense of security, Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany should enter into an agreement similar to the Four Power Treaty in the Pacific, guaranteeing that the demilitarized zone on the left bank of the Rhine should be inviolate, and they should define as the aggressor in the next war the nation which first puts an armed soldier into that territory.

In addition to that, I should suggest that the United States, which cannot, in my opinion, enter into detailed territorial guarantees in Europe, should nevertheless accept the general obligations of the covenant of the League of Nations. (Applause.) Then, in order to bring the reparation problem within the fields of manageable discussion and practical business and politics, I suggest that we agree that in future we shall regard M. Loucheur's estimate this morning as the maximum, and Mr. Keynes's estimate as the minimum, and that between those two figures, we agree to find the sum which Germany is actually to pay. And then it follows quite obviously that as part of that same settlement, Great Britain will have to cancel France's debt to her, and in my own opinion her own share of the reparations, and the United States will have to cancel all the war debts. (Applause.) And then, having produced a guarantee of security and a manageable reparation problem I submit that the reason for the occupation of the Rhine no longer exists. That is the most troubled sore in Europe today. (Applause.) And as soon as it is possible to do so, it should end. And I submit that as part of a general settlement it must end, and that the French must not only withdraw from German territory, but that they and the Poles must reduce their armies to very small proportions.

The French will ask, however, what will happen if they do this. Who will stand as the guarantor of the German payments, however moderate? Now, that is a real question, for in my opinion, even though the reparations were fixed at a moderate and just sum, without pressure from the outside, no German government could succeed in collecting them from the German people. There has to be the threat of some potential force. But the armies of occupation in the Rhineland are the most expensive, the most irritating, and politically the most dangerous method that could possibly be conceived.

I suggest therefore that in substitute for that, the British and French fleets be used as the guarantor of the German reparations debt, because Germany, threatened with a blockade from the west, would fear that fully as much, if not more, than any threat by land. The fleets could collect that debt without any extra expense for upkeep, and the simplicity of the arrangement, the international character of the arrangement, might appeal very strongly to people in many countries.

I think that those items represent a basis for discussion. At any rate, I put up the target and others can shoot at it. (Laughter and Applause.)

Published by
FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION
3 West 29th St., New York

Report of the New York Council for Limitation of Armament

ON

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

THE NEW YORK COUNCIL FOR THE LIMITATION OF ARMAMENT having concluded its activities in connection with the recent International Conference held in Washington, desires to submit to its constituent organizations the following statement and report of its activities.

Although the official statements and press reports cover the Conference completely, the Executive Committee believes that the cooperating groups of the New York Council will welcome the following analysis of its results, and suggestions as to our own future activity.

Specific Gains from the Conference

1. The establishment of a precedent for Conferences on international affairs in place of action through diplomatic agencies and methods.
2. The education of public opinion on foreign affairs.
3. The beginnings of consultation between governments and educated public opinion in regard to international relations.
4. The removal from the public mind of the fear of Japanese aggression against the United States.
5. The scrapping of battle-ships and elimination of former competitive naval building program.
6. The prohibition of the use of submarines as commerce destroyers.
7. For the first time as a nation the United States placed on record as against the use of poison gas.

And finally

For the first time as a nation the United States has taken definite steps toward international cooperation and association in

8. The Four Power Pact.
9. The Nine Power Pact.

Specific Gains in the Far East

a. Reduction of fortification programme in Far East.
b. Settlement of cable controversies.
c. Withdrawal of foreign postoffices in China.
d. Establishment of commission to investigate Chinese courts.
e. Return to China of radio stations.
f. Tariff concessions in China.
g. International agreement to exchange information on all commitments concerning China.
h. Re-affirmation by the United States, and acceptance by other nations, of the principle of the Open Door.

Shantung Settlement

(The good offices of the members of the Conference, notably those of Mr. Balfour and Secretary Hughes, have, no doubt, contributed to this important agreement between China and Japan, though for this pact the Conference has no responsibility.)

The Influence of Organized Public Opinion on the Conference*

1. Public opinion, by the demand for a real measure of disarmament, forced the calling of the Conference.

* The extent to which public opinion expressed itself to the American delegates is indicated by the 13,500,000 messages received in Washington.

What Next?

Demand that in the selection of delegates to future Conferences their past record and expressed convictions should be in accord with the ends sought. Individuals who are cynical as to disarmament and world cooperation for peace are unlikely to achieve these ends.

Urge that eventually the Four Power Treaty be amended so as to include Siberia and China within the scope of its operations.

Watch all naval and military appropriations made by Congress and inquire of your Senator or Congressman the amount and the purpose of each appropriation.

Inform yourselves in the same way on the expenditures by our government for the manufacture of poison gas and other war material. Remember that these inquiries relate to the subject of disarmament. Submarines and gas are weapons of war. Their manufacture and use are part of military and naval preparedness and, as such, foster suspicion between nations, and, through the militaristic spirit make war more likely. Do not be misled by arguments as to difficulty of control or questions as to their relatively barbarous or humane character. It is a question relating to reduction of armament.

If your local press disregards international questions or appears to foster a partial view, prepare or secure press matter and urge its publication by local editors.

Form study groups around the Far Eastern question (see manual "The Far East") and induce local libraries to purchase the books recommended in the bibliography to be placed on a prominent bookshelf immediately before the frequenters of the library.

Conclusion

The colossal waste and suffering of the World War has forced the mind of the peoples of the earth to a new consideration of the meaning of war. Thoughtful people everywhere desire that war should be known to all men for what it is in fact—the murderer of the youth of the race, the paralysis of production and commerce, the forerunner of pestilence and famine, spreading ruin and desolation alike upon victors and vanquished,—THE SUICIDE OF CIVILIZATION.

We urge upon you a campaign of education demanding the sweeping reduction of the armaments of all nations. The naval holiday is our opportunity for greater achievement.

It is obvious, however, that reduction of armament alone will not achieve our end, but that we must steadily urge future conferences leading to permament international association.

We believe in the submission of all questions between nations, either to arbitration or an International Court.

We owe an infinite debt to the statesmen of this country, who have once more asked the American people to lead the people of other countries towards a new world.

A union of all states for Peace is our goal, and we dedicate ourselves to its achievement.

Miss Ruth Morgan, Chairman
Mrs Willard D. Straight, Vice-Chairman
Mrs. Gordon Norrie
Miss Amey Aldrich
Mrs. Harry Ward
Miss Christina Merriman
Miss Eva Potter
Miss Mary Dreier
Mrs. John J. Moorhead

Committee on Report.

Foreign Policy Association

[FORMERLY THE LEAGUE OF FREE NATIONS ASSOCIATION]

For a Liberal and Constructive American Foreign Policy

WHAT THEY SAY ABOUT US

"The work done by the Foreign Policy Association is first rate, and it is one of the few living cells in the great corpse of public opinion."—ROBERT LITTELL.

"I am pleased to receive the invitation to become a member of the Foreign Policy Association, and enclose my check herewith. I had the privilege of attending for the first time a luncheon of the Association at the Hotel Astor, when the internal problems of Russia were discussed. I was very much interested and distinctly edified. The diverse opinions by competent and thoroughly representative spokesmen who derived their knowledge by personal contact and actual observation, were an enlightening revelation. *The unbiased character of the discussion, and the evident determination to present both sides of all international questions impressed me very deeply.* It had a particular personal appeal to me from the fact that, as editor of the Current History Magazine, we are endeavoring in our monthly periodical to carry out vigorously the same policy as respects international affairs, and it was a source of much gratification to me to observe from the large representative and intelligent audience how acceptable this method of approach appeared to be."—GEORGE W. OCHS-OAKES, *Editor, Current History Magazine.*

National Headquarters: 3 WEST 29TH ST., NEW YORK CITY
Telephone—Longacre 0050

A SUGGESTION

"I attended today one of your series of the Luncheon-Discussions of your Committee, and have noted the subjects that have been selected for the balance of the series for this season. They are distinctly unique in that there is nothing of which I know in the social or intellectual life of our city and country that compares with them in interest or in constructive value. They are educational in the best and highest sense, and I would like to see the project placed upon a permanent basis in which you would not be handicapped by narrow financial limitations.

"I believe it can be done. There is so much ignorance and misinformation in this country as to conditions in foreign countries and as to our foreign duties and relations that it is well-nigh a necessity.

"I would like to become a member, and am enclosing herewith my check for $100 toward the support of the Committee, with the suggestion that you endeavor to secure one hundred men each of whom would contribute $100 per year which, together with the regular annual dues and the receipts from your luncheons, ought to put you in a position of independence.

"With my best thanks for the work you are doing, and with kind regards, believe me, etc.

SAMUEL UNTERMEYER."

Caught Our Idea the First Time

"I attended one of the recent luncheons of the Foreign Policy Association at the invitation of my sister, and found it so interesting an experience and the idea behind the Association so excellent that I hasten to send in an application for membership for my wife and myself. Also enclosed is my check . . ."—THOMAS CHALMERS, Metropolitan Opera Co.

For Distinguished Service

"There is nothing that I am more pleased to help support than the Foreign Policy Association, as I feel that it is continuing the distinguished services rendered by the League of Free Nations Association."—EDMUND N. HUYCK, Albany, N. Y.

The F. P. A. Must Not Fail

"The Foreign Policy Association has for the past three years been one of the most active agents in the political education of the people of the United States in respect to foreign affairs. Meetings arranged by the Association, and bulletins issued monthly have given publicity to the views of experts on many of the important questions arising out of the war, and the political and economic unsettlement of Europe.

"The Conference on Disarmament and the Pacific gives to the Association an opportunity to increase its usefulness. Similarly its support must be largely increased if it is to realize its possibilities of effective service in arousing and directing public opinion in regard to questions vital to the nation. To allow the Association to fail now would be an inexcusable waste of power for good."—*New Republic,* September 21, 1921.

Influence for Constructive Thinking

"You are doing a great work, and I believe that the Foreign Policy Association is an influence for constructive thinking which is making itself felt. You have every reason to feel the inspiration that comes from the knowledge of progress made."

HERBERT ADAMS GIBBONS.

From An Old Member

"Because I believe in a League of Nations, because I believe that war is a custom we must and can outgrow, because I believe that the Washington Conference is an honest effort to fight the evil of war, and because I believe that the organization of which I am a member can help and is helping, I send my check for five dollars to help defray present expenses. I wish that it could be many times five dollars."

Stimulating Public Opinion

"Each time that I attend one of your general Saturday discussions I am increasingly impressed with the effectiveness of the work of your Association. It is performing a great service in stimulating and forming public opinion."—SAM A. LEWISOHN.

Practical Appreciation

"I want to congratulate you on the splendid meeting you had Saturday, [Jan. 7, 1922], and tell you again how much I enjoyed it. It was unusual, at such a large gathering, to have such a spirited discussion, and to help on the good work, I am enclosing herewith my check."—GERARD SWOPE.

❦ ❦ ❦

"I enclose an application blank applying for membership in the Foreign Policy Association. You are doing such admirable work that I wish I might make my contribution larger."

—WILLIAM M. CHADBOURNE.

❦ ❦ ❦

"I enclose contribution to help you along in your further activities, as they seem to be the most common-sense and really effective of any liberal group that I know of. Keep up the good work!"—JOHN CROSBY BROWN.

❦ ❦ ❦

" . . . I enclose a very small mite in acknowledgement of the gratitude I feel for the services rendered by our splendid Association in connection with the Washington Conference. I feel deeply appreciative of the help it has been as a source of information to its members."—LAURA STEEL, Manchester, Vt.

Courageous Fairness

"Enclosed please find cheque. I am glad to be enrolled as an associate member of your Association. The spirit of courageous fairness and selective intelligence with which you have guided the discussions held under the auspices of the Foreign Policy Association and its predecessor, The League of Free Nations Association, is worthy of all praise. In a period of 'witch-hunting' and propaganda seeking invidious ends by exciting through hatred and fear the ruthless force of primitive savagery in the mass mind, your Association has ably served the cause of democratic civilization and the international conscience. Wishing for you continued success in this high service for the growing good of the world . . ."—RAYMOND ROBINS.

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

NEW YORK CITY MEMBERSHIP

Mr. Ralph Abercrombie
Mrs. Ralph Abercrombie
Miss E. A. Achelis
Mr. Robert C. Adams
Mr. F. O. Affeld, Jr.
Mrs. F. O. Affeld, Jr.
Miss Amey Aldrich
Miss Mary Lincoln Aldrich
Mrs. R. F. Almirall
Mrs. Copley Amory
Miss Grace Andrews
Mrs. John B. Andrews
Mr. Ernest Angell
Mrs. E. A. Angell
Miss Hildegarde Angell
Miss Julia B. Anthony
Miss Annie M. Archer
Mrs. Moses Ascher
Dr. Henry A. Atkinson
Miss Elizabeth Babcock
Mr. Jules S. Bache
Mrs. A. Bachman
Mrs. George Wood Bacon
Mrs. Geo. J. Baldwin
Mrs. Ruth Standish Baldwin
Mr. Henry G. Barbey
Mr. Albert S. Bard
Mr. Frank G. Barry
Miss Edna H. Barger
Miss Marjory W. Beardsley
Mrs. George L. Beer
Mrs. Julius Beer
Mr. Martin Behrer
Mrs. August Belmont
Miss Martha C. Bennett
Mr. A. A. Berle, Jr.
Mr. M. W. Berman
Mrs. M. W. Berman
Mrs. J. C. Bernheim
Mrs. J. Bettman
Mrs. Nicholas Biddle
Mr. Alexander M. Bing
Mrs. Alexander Bing
Mrs. Max Binswanger
Mr. Edwin Bjorkman
Mr. Bruce Bliven
Mrs. Henry M. Bloch
Dr. Leonard Blumgart
Miss Anne E. Boardman
Mr. R. L. Boughton
Mr. Alfred J. Boulton
Mrs. Alfred J. Boulton
Mrs. W. G. Borland
Mrs. John R. Bray
Mrs. Victor Brenner
Miss Edna W. Brezee
Miss Edith B. Brower
Miss Gwendolen Brown
Mr. John Crosby Brown, 2d
Dr. William Adams Brown
Mr. Thatcher M. Brown
Mrs. Thatcher M. Brown
Mr. Robert Bruère
Miss Grace Bryant
Miss Lily Bryant
Mrs. M. L. Bryant
Mr. Ellsworth B. Buck
Mr. Emory R. Buckner
Mr. Henry D. Bulkley
Miss Elizabeth Burchenal
Mr. Charles C. Burlingham
Prof. Wendell T. Bush
Mr. Harold S. Buttenheim
Mrs. L. Buttenwieser
Mr. Witter Bynner
Mr. R. J. Caldwell

Miss Rebecca A. Caldwell
Miss Mary E. Calhoun
Mrs. H. L. Cammann
Miss Mary R. Campbell
Miss Mary A. Cannon
Prof. Harry J. Carman
Mrs. Clarence Cary
Miss Martha Casamajor
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt
Mrs. Esther Chadbourne
Mr. Wm. M. Chadbourne
Miss Grace Chalmers
Miss Mary Chalmers
Mr. T. H. Chalmers
Mrs. T. H. Chalmers
Mr. Joseph P. Chamberlain
Miss V. L. Chandor
Miss M. B. Chapin
Miss Alta B. Chase
Dr. Clara T. Chassell
Miss Frances B. Cheatham
Mr. Richard S. Childs
Mr. George E. Chisholm
Mr. Richard S. Chisholm
Mrs. Arthur O. Choate
Miss Mabel Choate
Miss Caroline Choate
Miss Sarah E. Choate
Mrs. Wm. B. Clark
Miss Margaret V. Cobb
Mr. George A. Coe
Mrs. Max Cohen
Mrs. A. Cohn
Miss Isabella Cohn
Miss Grace Isabel Colbron
Mrs. L. K. Comstock
Miss Viola Percy Conklin
Mr. Thomas Conyngton
Mrs. Alfred A. Cook
Miss Katharine Innes Cook
Miss Nancy Cook
Mrs. R. B. M. Cook
Mr. Leon Cooper
Mr. Joseph J. Corn
Mrs. Joseph J. Corn
Mrs. Harold G. Cortis
Mr. Joseph P. Cotton
Miss Anne M. Couch
Miss Mary E. Crammer
Mr. Paul D. Cravath
Mr. Luigi Criscuolo
Mrs. George A. Crocker, Jr.
Rev. W. T. Crocker
Mrs. Herbert Croly
Mr. Seymour L. Cromwell
Mrs. Jas. Greenleaf Croswell
Mrs. J. B. Curtis
Mr. Prentice Cushing
Mrs. Prentice Cushing
Mr. R. Fulton Cutting
Mr. R. H. Dana, Jr.
Mr. Lawrence B. Darling
Mr. Jerome Davis
Miss Edith H. Day
Mr. William J. Dean
Mrs. Carl A. De Gersdorff
Miss Dora C. Deis
Miss E. R. Delafield
Mr. Wm. Adams Delano
Miss Golla De Neergaard
Mr. Albert DeSilver
Mrs. Albert DeSilver
Miss Evelyn Dewey
Prof. John Dewey
Mrs. John Dewey
Miss Marion Dickerman
Mrs. L. L. Dittenheimer
Mrs. Belle Donner
Miss Emily Helen Donner
Mr. John Lawrence Doron
Miss Grace Drake
Mrs. H. Edward Dreier
Miss Mary Dreier
Mrs. Eugene DuBois
Dr. Stephen P. Duggan
Mr. John Foster Dulles

Mrs. John Foster Dulles
Miss Amy Dunlap
Mrs. Gano Dunn
Miss Elizabeth Dutcher
Mrs. William P. Earle, Jr.
Miss Edith Edwards
Mrs. Chas. Noel Edge
Mrs. Adelaide Price Ehrich
Mrs. Lewis A. Eldridge
Miss Margaret F. Eliot
Miss Sarilla A. Elkus
Mr. John Lovejoy Elliott
Mrs. Norman Elliot
Mr. Robert Erskine Ely
Mr. Herbert Emmerich
Mrs. Grenville T. Emmet
Mr. Sydney B. Erlanger
Mr. Lloyd Espenschied
Miss Elizabeth J. Evans
Mrs. Daniel W. Evans
Mrs. Ruth S. Farnam
Mrs. Cecile Iselin Freer
Mrs. Joseph Fels
Mrs. Murray Whiting Ferris
Mrs. Edith Strauss Figg
Mr. J. Leslie Finch
Mrs. Reginald Fincke
Miss Christina B. Fisher
Mrs. Irving R. Fisher
Miss Margaret Fiske
Miss Fannie I. Flanly
Miss Rosina M. Flanly
Mrs. Margaret Flood
Mrs. Louise Adams Floyd
Mrs. Simeon Ford
Dean H. E. W. Fosbroke
Mrs. Eva A. Frank
Mrs. G. S. Franklin
Mrs. Walter S. Franklin
Mrs. Robert A. Franks
Mrs. Isabella Freedman
Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick
Mrs. Theodore Foulk

Mr. Herbert Friedenwald
Mr. Louis S. Friedland
Miss Rachel Friedlander
Mr. Jacob H. Friedman
Mr. L. D. Froelick
Miss Margaret Gage
Mr. Henry J. Gibbons
Mr. Herbert Adams Gibbons
Dr. Joseph Girsdansky
Mr. Robert E. Goldsby
Mr. Arthur J. Goldsmith
Mr. H. Goldsmith
Mr. Max Goldsmith
Miss Annie W. Goodrich
Miss Willystine Goodsell
Mrs. Jefferson Graub
Mrs. Henry G. Gray
Miss Helen Greiff
Mr. Jacob Gross
Rev. Sidney L. Gulick
Mrs. Harriet F. Haas
Mrs. B. A. Haggin
Mr. Robert Lee Hale
Mr. Bolton Hall
Miss Ida J. Halle
Miss Julia Halle
Mrs. F. A. Halsey
Mr. Carl W. Hamilton
Miss Helen G. Hammond
Mr. D. S. Hanchett
Judge Learned Hand
Mrs. Learned Hand
Mr. William A. Hannig
Mr. Norman Hapgood
Mrs. H. Hardinge
Mrs. Montgomery Hare
Miss Grace Harper
Dr. Hastings H. Hart
Dr. Allis F. Hascall
Dr. Forbes Hawkes
Mrs. Forbes Hawkes
Prof. Carleton J. H. Hayes
Mrs. Carleton J. H. Hayes

Mrs. Edward Haynes
Mrs. Meyer Hecht
Mrs. Frances Hellman
Miss Louise Helmuth
Mr. Charles E. Heming
Mr. Henry L. Heming
Mrs. Chas. R. Henderson
Mrs. E. C. Henderson
Mr. G. C. Henderson
Mrs. G. C. Henderson
Mrs. M. C. Herrmann
Miss Mary Dows Herter
Mr. Fred W. Herz
Mrs. N. D. Herzog
Mr. Jerome Hess
Mr. Paxton Hibben
Mrs. Russell A. Hibbs
Miss Edith Hilles
Mrs. J. Peter Hoguet
Mrs. Edwin B. Holden
Miss Marian Holden
Miss Mary H. Holmes
Miss Lydia O. Holt
Mrs. Walter Hope
Miss Belle C. Howard
Mr. Charles P. Howland
Miss Frances L. Howland
Miss Maria L. Hoyt
Mrs. J. D. Hubbard
Mrs. Lois Pierce-Hughes
Mrs. G. S. Huntington
Rev. Henry S. Huntington
Miss Clara M. Hyde
Mr. Charles H. Ingersoll
Mr. Raymond V. Ingersoll
Mrs. Raymond V. Ingersoll
Mr. Wm. H. Ingersoll
Mrs. H. C. M. Ingraham
Mr. Lewis M. Isaacs
Mr. Stanley M. Isaacs
Mrs. Henry Ittleson
Mrs. T. L. Jabine
Miss Sarah H. Jacobs
Mr. David Jacobson
Mrs. Henry James
Mr. Henry L. Janes
Miss Alice Jaretzki
Mrs. Pierre Jay
Mrs. Agnes M. Jenks
Mrs. Percy H. Jennings
Miss Eleanor Hope Johnson
Mrs. J. Barnett Jones
Mr. Otto H. Kahn
Mrs. Otto H. Kahn
Dr. Horace M. Kallen
Mr. I. L. Kandel
Mr. Alexander Karlin
Mrs. Alexander Karlin
Miss Frances Karr
Mrs. Ned Kauffman
Mr. Paul U. Kellogg
Mrs. E. Kempner
Mr. Paul Kennaday
Miss Dorothy Kenyon
Mrs. David Keppel
Mr. Earl D. Keye
Mrs. C. C. Kidder
Dr. Eleanor B. Kilham
Prof. W. H. Kilpatrick
Mrs. W. H. Kilpatrick
Mr. George W. Kirchwey
Miss A. C. Kirkpatrick
Miss Mabel Kittredge
Miss Harriet W. Knight
Mrs. Percival Knauth
Mr. Bernhard Knollenberg
Mr. Robert D. Kohn
Mrs. Rumbold-Kohn
Mrs. Alexander Kohut
Mrs. William R. Korn
Mr. H. C. Kudlick
Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw
Mr. George M. La Monte
Mr. Thomas W. Lamont
Mrs. Thomas W. Lamont
Mr. Leon Laski

Rev. John H. Lathrop
Mrs. John H. Lathrop
Mr. E. S. Lawrence
Mrs. Henry G. Leach
Mr. Porter R. Lee
Mr. William LeGendre
Mrs. William LeGendre
Mr. Mitchell Leventhal
Mrs. Mitchell Leventhal
Mrs. I. Lewi
Miss Amy G. Lewis
Miss Alice Lewisohn
Miss Irene Lewisohn
Mr. Sam A. Lewisohn
Mr. S. Lichterman
Mr. Julius Liebman
Mrs. Alfred Liebmann
Miss Katherine Lindsay
Mr. Walter Lippmann
Mrs. Morris Loeb
Miss Hilde Loines
Miss Ruth Loomis
Mr. Jacinto Lopez
Mr. Arthur D. Lord
Miss Harriet Lord
Mr. Owen Lovejoy
Mr. L. B. Lowenstein
Miss Katharine Ludington
Mrs. Graham Lusk
Miss Edith K. Lyle
Mr. Eugene W. Lyman
Dr. Frederick Lynch
Mrs. Harold A. Lynch
Mr. James G. McDonald
Mrs. Clarence E. Mack
Judge Julian W. Mack
Miss Jean K. Mackenzie
Mr. V. Everit Macy
Miss Elizabeth Man
Mr. Louis Manheim
Mrs. Louis Manheim
Mrs. Howard Mansfield
Mr. Louis Marburg
Mr. Theodore H. Marburg
Mrs. Clinton Irwin Martin
Mrs. Martha Evans Martin
Mrs. Walton Martin
Miss Eva A. Marty
Miss Sara M. Marty
Miss Grace Masconneau
Miss Anna May Mason
Miss Theresa Mayer
Mr. Bernhard Mayer
Mrs. Bernhard Mayer
Miss Clara W. Mayer
Mrs. Geo. B. McClellan
Miss Matilda J. McKeown
Mrs. Lawrence J. Mead
Prof. Nelson P. Mead
Mr. William Menke
Mr. Edwin G. Merrill
Mrs. Edwin G. Merrill
Miss Christina Merriman
Mr. Walter E. Meyer
Mr. Felix Meyer
Mr. Morris Michtom
Miss Helen C. Miller
Miss Maud Miller
Mrs. Seth M. Milliken
Rev. Charles S. Mills
Mr. H. E. Mills
Prof. Paul Monroe
Mrs. Walter J. Moore
Mrs. Edith P. Morgan
Miss Ruth Morgan
Hon. Henry Morgenthau
Mrs. Henry Morgenthau
Mrs. Max Morgenthau, Jr.
Mr. Dwight W. Morrow
Mr. Howard M. Morse
Mr. Percival Robert Moses
Mrs. Percival Robert Moses
Mr. E. E. Mueser
Mrs. James E. Neal
Mrs. Hugh Nesbitt
Mr. Morton J. Newburger

Mrs. A. Gordon Norrie
Miss Margaret Nott
Miss M. Adelaide Nutting
Mr. Shigeyosho Obata
Mr. George W. Ochs-Oakes
Miss Elizabeth G. Ogden
Miss Esther G. Ogden
Mrs. Adolphe Openhym
Mr. George J. Openhym
Mr. Wilfred A. Openhym
Miss Laura Page
Miss E. H. Packard
Mr. R. Harold Paget
Miss Alice M. Parsons
Mrs. Edgerton Parsons
Miss Llewellyn Parsons
Miss Margaret Parsons
Mr. William H. Parsons
Miss Louise Paul
Dr. Frederick Peterson
Mrs. Frederick Peterson
Mr. Geo. Foster Peabody
Miss Louise E. Peters
Mrs. Theodore Peters
Mr. Walter W. Pettit
Mrs. Walter W. Pettit
Mr. Louis H. Pink
Mr. Charles A. Platt
Mrs. Charles A. Platt
Mr. Ernest Poole
Mrs. Ernest Poole
Mr. James E. Pope
Mrs. H. Hobart Porter
Miss Mary G. Porter
Miss Eva S. Potter
Mrs. Frank H. Potter
Mr. Howard Nott Potter
Mrs. Howard Nott Potter
Miss Marion E. Potter
Mrs. J. W. T. Pottle
Mrs. T. Reed Powell
Mrs. George D. Pratt
Mrs. Henry Prellwitz

Miss Evelyn Preston
Mr. Stuart D. Preston
Mr. Joseph M. Price
Mrs. Joseph M. Price
Mr. Charles S. Prior
Mr. Lawson Purdy
Mrs. J. Bishop Putnam
Mrs. Grafton Pyne
Miss Mary Ramsay
Mrs. William Rand
Miss Minnie H. Ransom
Miss Florence Rapallo
Mr. Jay Rathbun
Mr. M. Raymond
Miss Susan J. Read
Miss Elizabeth E. Reed
Mrs. E. M. B. Reichenberger
Mr. John Reichert
Mrs. R. Reimer, Jr.
Mrs. Charles S. Renskorf
Prof. Charles R. Richards
Mrs. Charles R. Richards
Miss Helen Richards
Mr. Alfred W. Richardson
Mr. Maximilian Richter
Mrs. Maximilian Richter
Dean Howard C. Robbins
Miss Jane DuB. Roberts
Col. Raymond Robins
Mrs. James Harvey Robinson
Dr. William J. Robinson
Mr. Earle H. Rodney
Miss Hedwig Roghe
Mr. Charles T. Root
Miss Elizabeth A. Rose
Mr. Felix T. Rosen
Mrs. Walter T. Rosen
Mrs. A. E. Rosenbaum
Mr. N. F. Ross
Mr. Albert Rothbarth
Mr. John Rothschild
Mr. Ralph S. Rounds
Mrs. Ralph S. Rounds

Mr. E. G. Routzahn
Mrs. George Rublee
Mr. Ernest J. Ruegg
Mr. Arthur Ruhl
Mr. Lindsay Russell
Miss Mary D. Safford
Miss Helen G. Sahler
Miss Josephine Schain
Prof. J. Salwyn Schapiro
Mr. Lewis M. Scheuer
Mrs. Jacob H. Schiff
Miss Mary R. Schupp
Mr. R. J. F. Schwarzenbach
Mrs. R. J. F. Schwarzenbach
Miss Betty Scott
Miss Grace Scribner
Prof. Henry R. Seager
Miss Emily C. Seaman
Dr. Louis Livingston Seaman
Mrs. I. W. Seeman
Miss Elizabeth C. Selden
Mr. Eustace Seligman
Mrs. Eustace Seligman
Mrs. Isaac N. Seligman
Mrs. A. Seton
Mrs. Peter Sexton
Mrs. Ralph Shainwald
Mr. Andrew Sharpe
Dr. E. P. Shelby
Dr. Isaac J. Sherman
Mr. John R. Shillady
Mrs. Frank Shuler
Miss Marjorie Shuler
Mrs. V. G. Simkhovitch
Mr. Alburn E. Skinner
Mrs. Arthur Slade
Mrs. F. Louis Slade
Mrs. William S. Sloan
Mrs. Clarence B. Smith
Mrs. Clarence M. Smith
Mrs. J. Van-Smith
Mrs. Charles P. Soden
Mr. Albert E. Solomon
Miss Beatrice Sorchan
Dr. Anna Garlin Spencer
Mr. Nelson S. Spencer
Mrs. Seth S. Spencer
Mr. Edgar Speyer
Mrs. George W. Stern
Mrs. M. M. Sternberger
Mrs. Richard T. Stevens
Mr. Sylvan L. Stix
Mrs. Lavonia Stochelbach
Mrs. Herbert K. Stockton
Mr. Harry P. Story
Mrs. Edgar Strakosch
Mrs. Willard D. Straight
Mrs. A. L. Strasser
Mrs. Leila Whitney Stott
Miss Leila Stott
Mr. Cornelius J. Sullivan
Mrs. Cyrus L. Sulzberger
Miss Florence Sunderland
Mr. Lionel Sutro
Mrs. Lionel Sutro
Mrs. Joseph R. Swan
Mr. Gerard Swope
Mrs. Mary H. Swope
Mrs. L. M. Symmes
Miss Edith G. Taber
Mr. R. D. Talmage
Mrs. R. D. Talmage
Mr. Emile Tas
Mr. Graham R. Taylor
Mrs. Henry Osborn Taylor
Miss Jeanette Taylor
Mr. Seth Sprague Terry
Mrs. Lewis S. Thompson
Col. Wm. Boyce Thompson
Miss Edith W. Tiemann
Miss Elsie C. Tiemann
Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany
Mr. Asa C. Tilton
Mrs. James Timpson
Mrs. Calvin Tompkins
Mr. Henry Torrance

Miss Harriet Townsend
Miss Mary E. Townsend
Miss Agnes Graham Troup
Mr. Gustave R. Tuska
Mrs. Gustave R. Tuska
Miss M. R. Tutt
Mrs. Frank Day Tuttle
Mrs. Walter L. Tyler
The Ukrainian Federation
Mr. Albert Ulmann
Mr. Samuel Untermeyer
Mrs. A. Van Cortlandt
Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip
Mr. J. E. Van Dyke
Rev. Tertius Van Dyke
Miss Rita Van Valkenburgh
Miss Clara Van Vleck
Mr. Durbin Van Vleck
Miss Theodora Van Wagenen
Miss J. C. Ver Planck
Mr. Samuel R. Wachtell
Mrs. Samuel R. Wachtell
Col. Henry L. Waite
Miss Mary L. Waite
Miss Minnie E. Waite
Miss Lillian D. Wald
Mr. Frank P. Walsh
Miss Elizabeth Walton
Mr. Felix M. Warburg
Mrs. Felix M. Warburg
Mr. Frederick M. Warburg
Mr. Paul Warburg
Miss Kate M. Ward
Mrs. Lachlan Mc L. Ward
Mr. Allen Wardwell
Mr. P. A. Waring, Jr.
Mrs. John W. Warrington
Miss Marie H. Wedemeyer
Mr. Louis B. Wehle
Mr. Charles Weinberg
Miss Dorothy Weir
Mr. Charles F. Weller
Miss Mildred S. Wertheimer
Mr. Wm. Y. Westervelt
Mrs. Charles E. Wesson
Mrs. Walter E. Weyl
Mrs. E. F. Whitaker
Mrs. John Jay White
Mrs. N. De R. Whitehouse
Mr. George W. Wickersham
Miss Julia Cabot Wilde
Judge L. R. Wilfley
Mr. Wm. G. Willcox
Mrs. Wm. G. Willcox
Mr. Charles B. Williams
Mrs. Theodore C. Williams
Mr. H. W. Wilson
Miss Mary L. Wilson
Mrs. Eli Winkler
Mrs. Egerton Winthrop
Miss F. M. Wintringham
Mr. Mark H. Wiseman
Miss Eliza Witham
Mrs. Lewis S. Wolff
Miss Sarah J. Woodward
Miss Ellen Woodyard
Mrs. Daniel T. Worden

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION
3 West 29th Street New York City
Telephone: Longacre 0050

339

b7D

April 26, 1922

NR.R.
61-925-146

6257 62-844

Mr. E. J. Brennan,
Box 221, City Hall Station,
New York.

Dear Sir -

Reference is made to a report of confidential informant [redacted] of your office, for the 17th instant, concerning the FENIAN POLICY ASSOCIATION.

In view of the urgency of this investigation, will you kindly request this informant to continue some without delay?

Yours very truly,

Director.

61-7802-X9
~~62-844-10~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
... 22 P.M.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FILE

W. A. S

RECORDED

203

JAN 14 1957

b7D

April 27,1922.

~~62-844-9~~
61-7802-X8

MAY 4 1922

Capt. Luke McNamee,

Director, Naval Intelligence Division,

Navy Department, Washington, D. C.

My dear Captain -

For your information, I am enclosing herewith a copy of a report of confidential informant [redacted] at New York City, for the 17th instant, in re - FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION.

Yours very truly,

Director.

Encl. 116458

62-844

W. A. S.

SEARCHED

JAN 14 1957 RRM

To ROBERT H. GARDINER, Treasurer

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

National Headquarters: 3 West 29th Street, New York, N. Y

I enclose $5.00 for membership dues ($1.00 of which is for the Bulletin for one year) and $_____as a contribution for expenses.

Mr.
Mrs. _____
Miss

*Address*_____

*Date*_____ _____

Annual Membership _____$ 5.
Co-operating Membership _____ 10.

Associate Membership _____$25.
Sustaining Membership _____100.

b7D

Y-4. File R-327-D.

On instructions from Agent in Charge, Mr. E. J. Brennan.

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
New York, N. Y.	May 3/22	May 3/22	

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

In Re: FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION.

FACTS DEVELOPED:

at New York .

In the index file rooms of "The New York Times" at 249 West 43 rd Street I examined this afternoon ,between 1 and 3 o.cl. all the clippings relating to "The Foreign Policy Association ", The Far Eastern Republic, and Siberia. No record is contained in the files of this paper of any committe from the Foreign Policy Association having gone to Washington in representation of the Far Eastern Republic or for the purpose of making representations to the State Department for such. The only reference I found to this subject is the following: A delegation from Chita (The Far Eastern Republic) came to Washington during the Arms Conference in order to represent the interests of this country during the Conference, but this delegation was never received officially. As members of this delegation were mentioned ALEXANDRE YAZIKOFF, the agent of the Chita republic in Washington, and BORIS E. SKVIRSKY. As shown in some of the literature of the "Foreign Policy Association" which I transmitted with my last report on the subject, this Association holds bi- or triweekly luncheons at the Astor Hotel, at which different phases of our foreign policies are discussed. At the luncheon on March 4 th 1922 the favorable conditions of the Far Eastern Republic were discussed. The principal speakers on that occasion were FREDERICK F. MOORE, former Associated Press Correspondent and now Adviser to the Japanese Government, and Mr. C. H. SMITH, a

61-7802-X10

MAY 26 19

REFERENCE: 61-825-146 SFR/JR

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: Washington 3; New York 2; (VW)

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

HOOVER

JAN 14 1957 RLM

ORIGINAL

For May 3 rd 1922.

member of the Inter Allied Railroad Commission in Siberia.

At the luncheon of the Association, held at the Hotel Astor on January 21st 1922; Ex- Governor JAMES P. GOODRICH ,of Indiana,who had then just returned from Russia after completing an investigation for Mr. Herbert Hoover, Director of the American Relief Association, was the principal speaker on general conditions in Russia.

From "The Times" file room I further learned that on January 8 th 1922 ,the following delegation arrived in Washington in behalf of the PRI AMUR Government which is inimical to the Far Eastern Republic: SPIRIDON MORKULOFF,President of the Delegation; V. S. KOLESNIKOFF,Foreign Minister of the Pri Amur Government, Joseph K. Okulitch, and ALEXANDRE BARTON-BADISKA, who is Belgian Consul in Vladivostok and Secretary of the Consular Corps.

I respectfully suggest that the date of the arrival of the alleged Committee of the "Foreign Policy Association" ,which went to Washington to make presentations in favor of recognition of the Far Eastern Republic, be ascertained from the State Department, since apparently no record of such a committee exists here.

b7D

62-644

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATION
THE SECRETARY OF ST
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

June 7, 1922.

In reply refer to
U-H 811.01-292

6256

Dear Mr. Burns:

Please refer to a report which you sent to me, dated May 3, made by [redacted] relative to Foreign Policy Association. With reference to ~~the last~~ paragraph thereof, I wish to advise you that the Committee referred to was not received by this Department so far as I have been able to ascertain.

Very truly yours,

W. Hurley

JUN 19 1922

William J. Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation, 61-7802-X11
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C. ~~62-844-12~~

RECORDED

203

JAN 14 1957

EWB:HSB

December 11, 1929.

Honorable Lawrence Richey,
White House,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Larry:

In compliance with your request for information concerning the Foreign Policy Association, I beg to advise that an examination of the files of the Bureau and inquiry of the Bureau's New York office have elicited the following:

The present headquarters of the Foreign Policy Association is located at 18 East 41st Street, New York City. The cooperating membership fee is $10.00 a year, $3.00 of this amount being for a year's subscription to the Fortnightly Information Service. The regular membership fee is $5.00 a year. Associate membership is open only to members of the faculty and undergraduates of schools and colleges, the fee being $3.00 a year. The Association issues a fortnightly pamphlet; also a weekly bulletin. Its members have free use of a highly specialized library.

The officers of the Association are listed as follows:

James G. McDonald, Chairman
Ruth Morgan, Vice Chairman
Albert Lytle Deane, Treasurer
Esther G. Ogden, Secretary
Carolyn E. Martin, Assistant Treasurer
Olvie L. Sayyer, Assistant to the Chairman
Raymond Leslie Buell, Director of the Research Counsel
Abbott Ingalls, Head of Promotion Bureau
Elizabeth McK. Scott, Head of Speaker's Bureau
William T. Stone, Head of Washington Bureau

The National Council at the present time is as follows:

Jane Addams
Edwin A. Alderman

COPIES DESTROYED
78 MAY 23 1951

DEC 11 1929

JAN 14 1957

62-7802-X12

62-8117-13
DEC 12 1929
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FILE

George H. Blakeslee
Roland W. Boyden
Charles L. Carrick
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt
Stephen P. Vaughn
Charles K. Edmunds
W.H.P. Faunce
Frank C. Goodnow
William Green
Walker D. Hines
Manley O. Hudson
Mrs. Simon Kuhn
Thomas W. Lamont
Sam A. Lewisohn
V. Everit Macy
Samuel Mather
Herbert L. May
Bishop Francis J. McConnell
Rev. William P. Merrill
Mrs. James Morrisson
Robert R. Moton
William A. Neilson
George Stuart Patterson
Roscoe Pound
Chester Rowell
Reverend John A. Ryan
Dean William Scarlett
Jeremiah Smith, jr.
Silas H. Strawn
Paul M. Warburg
Edwin S. Webster
William Allen White
Michael Williams
Owen D. Young

The Board of Directors at the present time is as follows:

Bruce Bliven
Joseph P. Chamberlain
Mrs. M.C. Draper
Mrs. Learned Hand
Carlton J.H. Hayes
Charles P. Howland
Paul U. Kellogg
Edward Krehbiel
Mrs. Thomas W. Lamont
Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach

Julian W. Mack
Mrs. Helen Rowell Moorhead
Walter H. Pollak
The Very Reverend Howard C. Robbins
Ralph S. Rounds
Eustace Seligman
Lillian D. Wald
A. Livingston Warnshuis

Information obtained from the Bureau's New York office relative to the purpose of the Association is to the effect that "the object of the Foreign Policy Association is to discuss current problems of foreign affairs in an objective and scholarly manner, presenting both sides of the question, and leaving the reader to form his own opinion." It is also stated that one of the purposes of the Association is "to furnish a background of unbiased facts against which may be formed independent and accurate judgments of international events."

It is stated that during the past year the Association answered more than 3,000 requests for information coming from a great variety of people scattered throughout the country. The Association's luncheon discussions are broadcasted over radio station WEAF.

In 1921, inquiries made as to the purpose and aims of the Foreign Policy Association at that time elicited the report that the Association was engaged in an effort to bring about a progressive reduction of armaments by international agreement.

A small pamphlet issued by the Foreign Policy Association in March, 1922, stated that the Association was formerly known as the League of Free Nations Association. The pamphlet stated that the organization was formed for the purpose of "exploring and crystallizing latent interest in liberal democratic policies for which America stands in the great war and for which there is no organization at home." This pamphlet also stated that when the League of Nations Covenant was defeated in the Senate this only stimulated the Association to further efforts to bring the United States whole-heartedly into some form of continuous and close cooperation with the other nations at the earliest possible moment. The Association urged the reduction of armaments as a first and obvious step towards better international relations.

A national sub-committee on reduction of armaments was formed in April, 1921, among the members of the committee being: Judge George W. Anderson, Edward W. Bok, Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick and the Hon. George W.

Vickersham. This pamphlet, dated March, 1922, listed Mr. James G. McDonald as Chairman of the Executive Committee and also listed the National Council, which included, among others, Miss Jane Addams, of Illinois, Felix Frankfurter, of Massachusetts, Thomas W. Lamont, of New York, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, of Pennsylvania, Gifford Pinchot, of Pennsylvania, Roscoe Pound, of Massachusetts, the Rev. John A. Ryan, of the District of Columbia, and Frank P. Walsh, of Missouri.

It is reported that in the December 9, 1929, edition of the "New York Times" there appeared an article in which the Foreign Policy Association is quoted as criticizing the Government for its policy in the occupation of Haiti.

With regard to your further inquiry as to possible relationship, active or implied, between the American Civil Liberties Union and the Foreign Policy Association, the available records indicate that no definite relationship has been found to exist between these two organizations, with the exception that the Reverend John A. Ryan appears as listed on the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union and on the National Council of the Foreign Policy Association. It is not believed, however, that these two organizations are in any manner definitely allied, as will be noted from the fact that a number of individuals of conservative tendencies and the highest standing are shown as connected with the National Council of the Foreign Policy Association.

With reference to the American Civil Liberties Union, an examination of the files of the Bureau and inquiry of the Bureau's New York office elicited the following: The moving spirit of the American Civil Liberties Union appears to be Roger N. Baldwin, who is listed as Director, and who, during the recent war, was convicted and sentenced to a term of one year in jail at Newark for violation of the Selective Service Act. Among the National Committee, as listed on the letterhead of the organization are: Harry Elmer Barnes, John Dewey, William Z. Foster, Felix Frankfurter, Norman Hapgood, Morris Hillquit, John Haynes Holmes, George W. Kirchwey, Alexander Meiklejohn, Scott Nearing, Jeannette Rankin, John Nevin Sayre, Norman M. Thomas, Frank P. Walsh and Clarence Darrow.

A good picture of the views of the organization may be obtained from a statement made by Roger N. Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, before the Joint Legislative Committee of the State of New York; that is, the so-called Lusk Committee organized for the purpose of investigating seditious activities. The report of the Joint Legislative Committee is dated 1920 and bears the title, "Revolutionary Radicalism." It would appear that this Committee invited Mr. Baldwin to make a statement before said Committee. The statement made by Mr. Baldwin, as appearing in the report, reads as follows:

"The American Civil Liberties Union was organized on January 12, 1920, being a reorganization of the National Civil Liberties Bureau. The reorganization was effected in order to deal with the new aspects of the 'civil liberties' since the Armistice, particularly the many state laws and local ordinances restricting the Constitutional guarantees of free speech and free assemblage.

"The reorganization included, first, the formation of a national committee of approximately sixty persons from various states of the Union and from various walks of life; second, a change in name to indicate that the character of the organization had changed from a bureau of legal service to a propaganda organization in the interest of civil liberty; and third, with a program of increased activity directed primarily to dramatizing issues of civil liberty in the industrial conflict.

"The method followed since the reorganization has been to test the constitutionality of local ordinances and state laws which are assumed to be in conflict with constitutional guarantees.

"Because of the nature of the attacks on the assumed rights of individuals and organization the work is organized chiefly in cooperation with labor unions and radical political groups.

"In addition to this work, the organization is active in opposing legislative proposals affecting civil rights and in seeking the repeal of laws already enacted restricting those rights.

"In addition, efforts are undertaken to secure the release of persons in prison for offenses involving solely the expression of opinion in speech or print.

"Expression of opinion, as we define it, includes any language unaccompanied by an overt act--that is, an act which in itself is a violation of the criminal law.

"Language that is part of an overt or criminal act is part of the act itself and has nothing to do with the issue of free speech; but the language unaccompanied by such an act, even if the logical consequences of it lead others to the commission of the act, is legitimately within our conception of free speech. For instance, the advocacy of murder, unaccompanied by any act, is within the legitimate scope of free speech.

"There are some of our Committee who dissent from this view which I have expressed here, believing that the line should be drawn at a point this side of the view of extreme free speech advocates. The view I have set forth, however, is, I believe, the view of those who believe in free speech without reservation, as do

the great majority of our Committee. However, we are meeting a practical situation in which these more or less theoretical distinctions do not arise. I would say on behalf of the entire committee that all of them disbelieve the legal theory of constructive intent, and that all of them believe in the right of persons to advocate 'the overthrow of government by force and violence,' while all the members of the committee totally disbelieve in any such doctrine themselves."

Along the lines indicated in the foregoing, it may be noted that the American Civil Liberties Union provides free legal advice and counsel for defendants in any case coming to its attention which the Union believes involves the question of civil liberties. On October 25, 1929, a bulletin was issued by the American Civil Liberties Union in which reference was made to the so-called "Gastonia, North Carolina, trial." The bulletin stated that there is involved in the Gastonia case the question of civil liberty, and the American Civil Liberties Union is to that extent interested in the trial. This is a sample of the work of the American Civil Liberties Union, of its ideals, and the cases in which it is invariably found active.

I trust this will give you the information you desire. Should there be any further data you may wish, I shall be very glad, indeed, to have you advise me.

Sincerely,

Copies DESTROYED
MAY 22, 1961

ENCLOSURE

61-7802-X13

ENCLOSURE

TEN YEARS

of the

F. P. A.

1918-1928

61-7802-X(5)
62-844-14

Who's Who in the F.P.A.

Officers

James G. McDonald, *Chairman*
Ruth Morgan, *Vice-Chairman*
Albert Lytle Deane, *Treasurer*
Esther G. Ogden, *Secretary*

Carolyn E. Martin, *Assistant Treasurer*
Olive L. Sawyer, *Assistant to the Chairman*

Board of Directors

Bruce Bliven
Joseph P. Chamberlain
Joseph P. Cotton
Alvin Dodd
Mrs. Learned Hand
Carlton J. H. Hayes
Charles P. Howland
Paul U. Kellogg
Edward Krehbiel
Mrs. Thomas W. Lamont
Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach
Julian W. Mack
Mrs. Helen Howell Moorhead
Ralph S. Rounds
Eustace Seligman
Miss Lillian D. Wald
A. Livingston Warnshuis
Arthur Sachs, *Chairman, Finance Committee*

National Council

Miss Jane Addams
Edwin A. Alderman
George H. Blakeslee
Roland W. Boyden
Rt. Rev. Charles H. Brent
Charles L. Carrick
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt
Stephen P. Duggan
Charles K. Edmunds
W. H. P. Faunce
Frank J. Goodnow
William Green
Walker D. Hines
Manley O. Hudson
Mrs. Simon Kuhn
Thomas W. Lamont
Sam A. Lewisohn
V. Everit Macy
Samuel Mather
Herbert L. May
Bishop Francis J. McConnell
Rev. William P. Merrill
Mrs. James Morrisson
Robert R. Moton
William A. Neilson
George Stuart Patterson
Roscoe Pound
Chester Rowell
Rev. John A. Ryan
Dean William Scarlett
Jeremiah Smith, Jr.
Silas H. Strawn
Paul M. Warburg
Edwin S. Webster
William Allen White
Michael Williams
Owen D. Young

Branch Chairmen

Russell H. Bennett, Minneapolis
Francis B. Biddle, Philadelphia
George S. Buck, Buffalo
Mrs. Edward W. Campion, Columbus
Leland M. Goodrich, Providence
Charles Hiland Hall, Springfield (Mass.)
Mrs. Roland G. Hopkins, Boston
George R. H. Nicholson, Hartford
Rt. Rev. G. Ashton Oldham, Albany
Dexter Perkins, Rochester
Walter S. Robertson, Richmond
William L. West, St. Paul
Russell Wilson, Cincinnati
Dr. S. B. Woodward, Worcester (Mass.)

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION
INCORPORATED
18 EAST FORTY-FIRST STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y.

To Members of the F. P. A.:

This record is one which you have helped to make. The Board of Directors and the office staff could have done little without the whole-hearted support which has come continuously during the past decade from individual members in every part of the country. Whatever the F. P. A. has accomplished or may do in the future, it is your work.

James G. McDonald
Chairman

February, 1929

"The object of the Foreign Policy Association is to carry on research and educational activities to aid in the understanding and constructive development of American foreign policy."

From the Constitution of the F.P.A.

* * *

"A democracy which undertakes to control its own foreign relations ought to know something about the subject."

ELIHU ROOT.

* * *

"Many people in your country, I suppose, as in mine, have been in the habit of regarding foreign affairs as the business of their government, with which they have comparatively little or nothing to do. No opinion could be more untrue. On the proper conduct of the external relations of a country even so self-contained as America depends her prosperity much more than on any other single governmental activity. It is therefore of the utmost importance that in a democratic country the people, who are the true source of power, should be well-informed on this vital matter of the direction of their country's affairs. That, as I understand it, is the main purpose for which the Foreign Policy Association exists. It does not advocate any particular policy or any particular solution of external problems. Its business is to lay the facts and arguments before the people so that they may be better qualified to arrive at sound conclusions."

VISCOUNT CECIL

The Foreign Policy Association

celebrates its Tenth Anniversary

in conjunction with that

of the Armistice

at a luncheon

held at the Hotel Astor

New York City

Saturday, November 10, 1928

"The World War came to an end, as all know, on November 11, 1918. Just one day before this great conclusion, there occurred in New York City a great beginning. The first formal meeting was held of an organization which, under the name of the Foreign Policy Association, has since become known in all parts of this nation. Here is a coincidence worthy of note. The guns of the most immense test of arms which civilization has ever known were not yet stilled. And yet, twenty-four hours before that silence came, a group of citizens organized in New York an association designed to aid in the solution of after-war problems through submitting them to the test of earnest thought and discussion. Today, after ten years, the Foreign Policy Association has active, influential branches in Boston, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, St. Paul and numerous other American cities."

From *The Boston Transcript* November 8, 1928.

In the Foreign Policy Association we have one of the few modern arteries of the new time, built up from the concrete, with our research staff laying a solid bed of facts blasted from the ledge rock of current history; with the world opening up before us at our meetings like vistas on a parkway; and with our luncheon discussions in fifteen cities that have all the stir and cross-currents of four-way traffic centers.

It takes a wrench of the imagination to recapture the sense of release—like a spring set free—which the Armistice brought ten years ago. It takes cranking to reexperience in imagination the tensions, the hopes, the distortions of human nature, we experienced in the months that preceded the Armistice. But we can cherish the memory that it remained for the American president to voice in those months what the common people of the world wanted to get out of the War and out of the peace—the only things that for them sanctioned killing and being killed, they and their sons. The allied governments had been slow to strip their war aims of imperialistic commitments. Under the lead of British labor, the interallied labor movement threw its whole weight in the winter of 1918 in support of Wilson's stand. British liberals held that his state papers were worth twelve army corps and a regiment of angels in reviving the forces of democracy in Western Europe.

They spoke of the American policies as if the whole New World were ablaze with them.

But here in the United States that closing year of the War, there was no organized backing of the principles which President Wilson had made the hope of the world. Some of our peace foundations and old-line peace societies had gone on the shelf. The new groups of pacifists that had sprung up since 1914 had been left to flounder when Mr. Wilson finally took the other fork of the road in the spring of 1917. The League to Enforce Peace had grown by leaps and bounds, but its impressive governing body was concerned more with the machinery of international control than with the democratic principles which should encompass it. Colonel House's official committee was at work gathering information for the things America should stand for at the settlement, but the outlook was (as the event proved) that we should have the best-informed delegation at the Peace Conference, but the least-informed body of citizens behind them. There was no crystallization of American liberals. In contrast there were half a dozen defense leagues and the like which breathed nationalism like a flock of steam calliopes but were short-winded when it came to democracy. To talk peace was treason; to talk terms of settlement was to create division in the ranks of the fighters. So it was argued. The only issue, we were told, was to get on with the War; which we did with such zeal and concentration that, according to his friends, the American president arrived at Paris before he heard of the secret treaties that were to mutilate and all but wreck the treaty of Versailles.

* * *

It was in such an atmosphere that the group out of which grew the Foreign Policy Association held its first meeting on April 23, 191[illegible] There were nineteen of us *—and I am presiding this afternoon because I was one

* The nineteen were: Norman Angell, Charles A. Beard, Winston Churchill, Herbert Croly, Will Durant, Percy S. Grant, J. A. H. Hopkins, Alvin H. Johnson, Martin Johnson, Arthur Kellogg, Paul U. Kellogg, Paul Kennaday, Henry R. Mussey, Ernest Poole, S. K. Ratcliffe, W. J. Slaughter, Edwin E. Slosson, George P. West, P. W. Wilson. Among those to join the group soon after were: Edwin Björkman, Allen T. Burns, Wendell Bush, Joseph P. Chamberlain, Lincoln Colcord, John Dewey, Stephen P. Duggan, H. E. W. Fosbroke, Manley O. Hudson, James G. McDonald, Christina Merriman, Ralph S. Rounds, James T. Shotwell, Mrs. Mary K. Simkhovitch, and Lillian D. Wald.

of the John Gilpins that set this turnpike of ours going. S. K. Ratcliffe and Norman Angell, who have since often spoken from this platform, gave us the benefit of the experience of those English liberals who were four years ahead of us in waking up, and three thousand miles nearer the realities of the European conflict. Arthur Gleason's boat had been torpedoed off the Irish coast; he had escaped only with the clothes on his back, and was not to join us till our second meeting on May 13, when he put before us the two-edged foreign policy of British labor—resistance in the field coupled with the democratization of war aims. At that second meeting Paul Kennaday brought in the report of an organization committee of which Winston Churchill was chairman. The report called for an organization, national in scope and non-partisan in activity. As a first step we decided to set up a sort of seminar to take up one after another those issues which would be confronted in any peace settlement and on which we wanted to educate ourselves before attempting to educate others. Those issues, in deference to the national temper, we called "war aims." Ourselves we called "The Committee on Nothing at All."

Charles A. Beard was chairman of our program committee for the summer. Norman Hapgood became our chairman when we launched our national organization in the fall. He was succeeded in the winter by James G. McDonald who had early joined the group and whose ten creative years of service we are really honoring today.

Henry R. Mussey was our first secretary, then Stephen P. Duggan, then Lincoln Colcord, and that fall Christina Merriman took the post which she relinquished only last winter to the capable hands of Esther G. Ogden. For nine years Miss Merriman gave creative abilities to every phase of our work and gave them unstintedly. Our anniversary meeting is marred only by her absence.

I should like to recall others who have especially counted. There is one who stands out in all our minds—Mr. George M. La Monte who, succeeding Wendell Bush and Robert J. Gardiner, served as treasurer throughout crucial years and who contributed not only stability but imagination to our whole development. With my fellow-members of the board about me, I

know they will not object to my singling out three for special mention—Miss Lillian D. Wald and Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach whose early work in the American Union Against Militarism had broken ground which we harrowed, and Mr. Charles P. Howland who as chairman of our executive committee has given of his great gifts to our organization. Let me acknowledge, in behalf of all of us, the contributions of volunteers like Mrs. Helen Howell Moorhead, Mr. Herbert L. May and Mrs. Henry James. And I should like to name every member of the staff who has put mind and muscle into our work, but that is not possible. We must get on with our history.

Go back, first of all, to those meetings in that summer of 1918 when we met under the shadows of war to discuss the fabric of a peace worth while. There were fourteen of those meetings, and in a way we tried out not a little of the later technique of the F.P.A. We ate. We called in experts to throw light on the problems before us. We discussed and chipped in common sense around the table. We carried on studies.

One never-to-be-forgotten evening Professor Thomas Masaryk spoke on the theme of the small nations. That was before Czechoslovakia existed except in the brain of its great president. Professor Joseph P. Chamberlain, who is with us today as a member of our board, spoke on the control of international trade routes; Thomas D. Thacher and John Reed on Russia; William S. Kies, vice-president of the American International Corporation, and W. Morgan Shuster, sometime U. S. Minister to Persia, on concessions and investments in backward countries; Ordway Tead of the Bureau of Industrial Research on the distribution of raw materials; Ralph Rounds, the eminent New York lawyer who presided at many of those early meetings and has since served consecutively as a member of our board, presented the draft of a constitution for a league of nations.

At each meeting we endeavored to crystallize the discussion into a minute, which was referred to a committee on platform. By October 10 our platform of "war aims" was put forward in entirety—was discussed, amended, adopted.

They were "war aims" for less than a month. On November 7, 1918, four days before the Armistice, we met to discuss ways and means to secure public support for their incorporation into the peace settlement; and on November 27 we gave them out in printed form from the offices of the newly formed League of Free Nations Association, bearing the signatures of 141 men and women throughout the nation who had eagerly subscribed to them—men and women widely representative in the fields of journalism, banking, business, public affairs; education, the church, the law, labor and social work.

> "The statement of principles here set forth [ran the covering announcement] is the result of six months' work of a group of publicists and students of international affairs. Liberal opinion in America has rallied rapidly to their conclusions—that the League of Nations must be democratic; it must have its parliament; it must be open to all free nations; it must be organized now; it must have administrative machinery, and it must include a bill of rights for nations, giving to all equal access to the sea, to raw materials, to new countries or colonies, to rivers, railways and canals.
>
> "This bold conception must find its friends almost instantly, for a few short weeks will see the decision at Versailles."

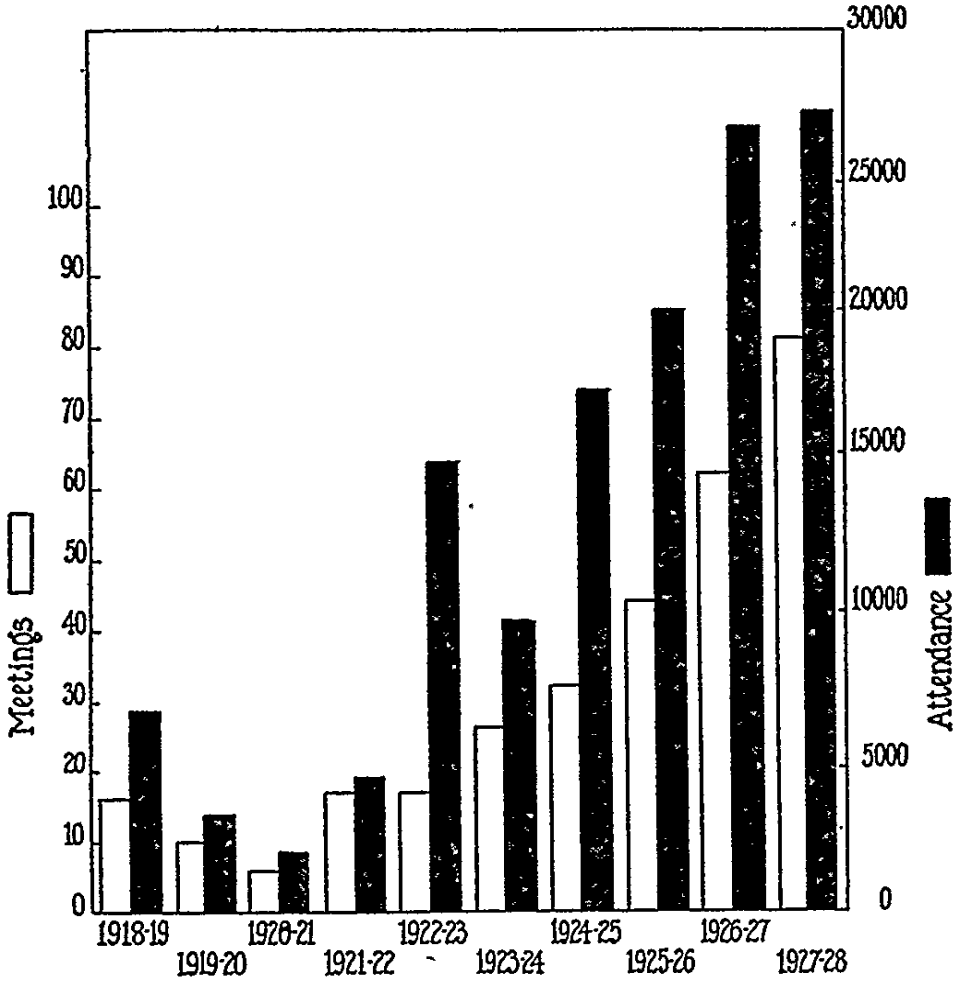
In rereading that broadsheet this week I was much struck with its sentience to the moot points which were to keep the peace commissioners locked for months succeeding; struck with its subscription to principles which, embodied in the treaty, have been happiest in results; struck with its deadly incisiveness in pointing out the consequences of failure to embody other principles which were in all or part ignored.

> "The purposes of such a League [ran the statement] are to achieve for all peoples, great and small
>
> 1) security; the due protection of national existence;
> 2) equality of economic opportunity."

The mandate system fulfilled some of the hopes held out under the second head; the failure to salvage the work of the wartime international bodies dealing with transportation and raw materials snuffed out others. Altogether the treatment of world economics—getting down beneath the political structures to the forces that mold and bend them—is as fresh and challenging as the day it was written.

Ours was one of the few civic bodies in America which by cable, letter and interview threw its weight in the direction of liberalization at every stage while covenant and treaty were pending.

The peace conference thus brought us into the rough and tumble of controversy over international issues. Our own board meetings gave us



the clue as to the keen zest of Americans in these new issues of foreign policy which were breaking through in every quarter of the globe. On January 11, 1919, we held our first luncheon meeting downstairs in the Cafe Boulevard; we held our hundredth * last year. The Adriatic, Danzig,

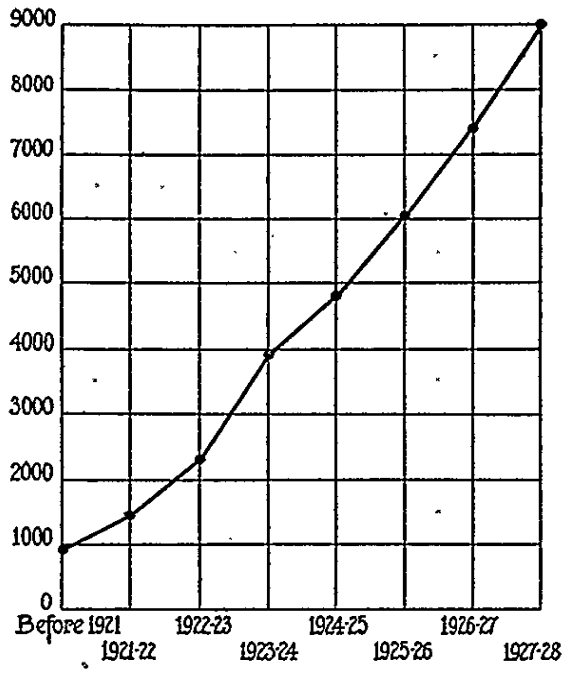
* This Anniversary meeting was the 109th in New York City; in addition there have been 193 meetings held by F.P.A. Branches.

the Ottoman Empire, the German Colonies, Ireland, the Neutrals and the League were some of the subjects that first winter. The "Free Nations" as well as the "League" in our title engaged us; and above all the bearings of the United States of America on both.

In 1919 we appointed a Committee on Mexican Relations, whose fact-gathering, public speaking and representations at Washington in the form of substantial briefs at the State Department showed us how organized common sense can help resolve a threatened war. It revealed to us the changed situation which Americans face—the United States no longer a new, weak country, bristling against encroachments of great foreign powers, but itself a great power, needing the restraints of an aroused citizenship lest we go the way of the old empires and exact our foreign will on the new and on the weak.

In 1919 also we commissioned William Allen White, Henry Scattergood and Father John A. Ryan to undertake a collation of Russian American documents which should throw light into a situation that was all heat, and which was given a wide berth by the more cautious agencies in American life.

By the end of our first year we found ourselves a going concern, which had thriven by addressing itself to situations which were tense and vital. And in the spring of 1921 by a natural process of evolution we became the Foreign Policy Association.*



Growth of membership in past 7 years

Now if today, rather than ten years ago, we should be launching the

* And we became the *Foreign Policy Association, Incorporated* on December 1, 1928.

More, that it has certain advantages for the task: its vital composition affords a corrective to ingrowing or partisan tendencies.

Because of the self-evident values inherent in such a demonstration, we have given right of way to this side of our development in the last few years. We began as a small group which on the basis of study and discussion formulated purposes and pressed for them. We became an active organization and increasingly resorted to research as a sure-footed basis for action. We have segregrated and developed our research functions to the point where their authenticity and integrity are accepted.

The F.P.A. is plastic, living, at the threshold of a more interesting, more resourceful, more creative ten years than the last ten. With our large national following, our problem of internal and external relationships is a much more delicate one than was that of the comparatively small group in 1918 that threshed its way to a common front. We accord to members of our staff freedom for individual discussion analagous to that of university life. At the same time the responsibility borne by them cannot always be distinguished from spokesmanship for the Association; and they observe the amenities and integrity of team play. We do not tamper with the findings of our research department any more than a responsible newspaper warps its financial page or colors its sporting columns. In our News Bulletin we maintain what amounts to an independent editorial column. In our early days we resorted to referenda to present the sense of the membership on moot points. We supply outside organizations on request with disinterested data which is of service to them in their endeavors. But as to the question of how, through membership or board, the findings of the F.P.A. can be put to work in concerted ways, we have no cut and dried solution to offer. We are going to preserve the disinterestedness, authenticity and integrity of our research reports. And we are going to conserve our potential freedom for action. Ours must be an organic growth—pragmatic, realistic.

* * *

But when it comes to the responsibility of individual members to make

of Ten Years, by Raymond L. Buell, published by the Macmillan Co.—written by request for use in more than one thousand study circles; and *The Nationalist Crusade in Syria,* by Elizabeth P. MacCallum, published by the F.P.A.—an attempt to understand what has gone on in Syria since the war.

Our new Washington Bureau affords an inlet for information from the national capital and close contacts with the departments which have overseas connections. It affords an outlet also, enabling us to supplement our general reports with special memoranda for officials, senators and members of Congress regardless of party affiliations or the positions they take. It is preparing an analysis of the State Department.

A slender travel account has made possible repeated visits by members of the staff to Geneva, London, Paris, Berlin, Havana and other capitals, including Mr. May's trip to the Orient in his opium studies. These broaden our horizons and open up new sources of intelligence and insight. They should be increased and supplemented by Commissions of Inquiry.

V. *Our central core—our headquarters staff** and the effective if inconspicuous work that grinds out the grist of meetings, programs, reports, bulletins, lectures, circulars that are so many points of contact between our 9,500 members and the American people.

Ours is an adventure in adult education. We have helped break precedent. We have helped demonstrate that it is possible to carry forward swift work of research in controversial fields—work so sound, so free of any axe to grind, as to serve not only the wide gamut of points of view represented in our own membership, but newspaper editors and government officials of opposing political parties; scholars, business men and labor leaders.

And we have demonstrated that to university hall, foundation office, government department and commission can be added the membership body as a home for research—an instrument for the service of democracy.

* See pp. 26-28.

the standard bearer of the Senn Fein almost stopped the meeting before it was held and demanded that the Union Jack be taken down! The British flag had been draped behind the speakers' table for a dinner that night with which we had nothing to do.

But in the large our difficulty lies not with the insurgents; rather it is the other way round. In staging the New York discussion on China last winter, every clue from November to mid-February was followed up to find a qualified spokesman for intervention. None of the forty men interviewed could be led to the platform.

III. *Publicity*—the natural sequence to our faith in discussion, beginning with the arrangement by which WEAF broadcasts these debates. Our chairman goes on the radio with maps and talks every week in what is the largest lecture course in international affairs ever put on. Our weekly bulletin goes out to 10,000 readers. We cooperate with the press everywhere. More than 2,500 individual requests for information were answered in 1927—more than 3,000 to date in 1928. They came from business men, bankers, newspaper editors, college professors, students, librarians, women's clubs, writers, lecturers. They came from Chugwater, Wyoming, and Parnassus, Pennsylvania, and points between.

Through it all the F.P.A. is an entire break with the old system of secret diplomacy and with its old domestic counterpart, which kept the people at home in the dark as to what is going forward.

IV. *A technical research department* under competent chiefs—Edward Meade Earle in its formative days and now Raymond Leslie Buell—with expert assistants familiar with great segments of the field. Since its inception the department has prepared more than 100 technical studies. These reports, published in the F.P.A.'s *Information Service,* are used by 3,500 editors, college professors and others whose task it is to interpret our foreign affairs.

In addition to these regular issues the research department has undertaken this year the preparation of two important books: *Europe: A History*

F. P. A., what, on the basis of our experience, would be some of the factors we should lay greatest store by? We are sure of five.

I. *A membership organization*—its greatest asset a widespread, yeasty interest in the part which we as a people do and can play in this post-war world. Ours is a membership both national in scope and crystallized in branches in fourteen cities.*

We need the means for the field work that would expand our system of branches.

II. *Discussion* as a basic method of a democracy in making up its mind—or to be specific, these luncheon meetings which tuck a bone of contention into every bill of fare and leave-to-speak under every napkin. In a new incarnation of the age-old penchant for debate, we have discovered the secret of imparting information on international issues in so dramatic a fashion that our attendance last year mounted to 27,110. The F.P.A. luncheons have not only become a feature of New York life, but of those fourteen other cities where our discussions are held.

Every subject discussed from an F.P.A. speakers' table is clarified from at least two opposing points of view. Incidentally we have so revivified heckling as to convince men and women of the most varied points of view that here is an organization that plays square and at which they can get a hearing. Witness the Mussolini supporter at a Fascist meeting who brandished his fist from the balcony at Salvemini and shouted, "liar, liar." There was the Turkish leader who after a long discussion of the "white man's burden" obtained the floor. "Mr. Chairman," he called, "may I put one question? Has the white man a burden or *is* he one?" It was at an F.P.A. luncheon that Raymond Robins presented the full tale of his Russian experiences in the days of Lenin, when things Russian were squelched in high places. At one of our luncheons Eamon de Valera and Sir Horace Plunkett met for the first time; and it was on that occasion that

* Albany, Boston, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Columbus, Hartford, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Providence, Richmond, Rochester, St. Paul, Springfield (Mass.), Worcester.

use as citizens of the information and enlightenment which come of reports and discussion, that is a horse of a different color.

If any one of you is laboring under the illusion that your business with foreign policy ends when you have listened to a lively debate or read an engaging report, I should like to deflate that assumption. On that level you are just playing with one of the most serious businesses in life in our generation. You can't lunch your way into either the Kingdom of Heaven or a world safe for democracy. You can't do it even if, in Governor Smith's happy imagery, you are one of the favored few who roll up in your own car and eat chickens—with silk stockings on.

The Foreign Policy Association used this tenth anniversary of the Armistice as a peg on which to hang a clutch of sobering figures. Our survey showed that ten years after the war to end war 6 million men are serving in the active forces of the 52 principal countries of the world while 27 million are enrolled in the trained reserves.

In Western Europe, where Germany and her former allies have been virtually disarmed under the Peace Treaties, the vast majority of countries have increased their man power above the 1913 level. The allied countries have increased their army budgets from 1913 to 1927 by nearly $200,000,000.

As Brigadier General Lord Thomson, member of the MacDonald ministry, said in debate in Parliament this week, the world has peace because of exhaustion not statesmanship. Every time we in this country talk big navy, or how, diked by the great oceans, we must yet gird mightily to defend ourselves, we cut the ground from under the feet of citizens of countries less favorably placed, who would speed up peace before those who know war for what it is go off the stage.

✓ ✓ ✓

The other morning, coming up Fifth Avenue, I suddenly became aware of something out of the ordinary. The natural movement of people had stopped. There were half formed groups at the next corner, looking

up at a building. The bus slowed up and then went on. I looked up and saw nothing. I looked down as we passed. Then I saw. On the sidewalk was a flat thing, a man with his head in his arms. A workman in blue shirt, and nearby was a glove, a pail on its side.

We had almost passed when I saw another thing—another workman with his head between his arms. Only this one was on the pavement and nearer. His head was cracked open. He was excruciatingly flat, his legs shoved out of his trousers. He was pressed so close it looked as if he would have to be pried from the asphalt. Even the cops seemed to be hanging back. They were keeping the place cleared and turning vehicles off. They swore and kept looking the other way—away from those two men who lay there like little crying boys with their heads in their hands.

And above them, eighteen stories high, swung a ladder on one rope. The other rope, that had given way, dangled like a silly thing. It was later reported that the muriatic acid they were using to clean the exterior of the building had eaten the hemp.

There was an Irishman in the bus seat in front of me. He had craned his neck and looked. He seemed to pry his head round and then buried his eyes in a roll of newspaper. "God," he said, "a thing like that spoils your day!"

They were only two of them, those flat things. And the hole in the traffic on Fifth Avenue, the circle of people about it, was like a vacuum, and the vacuum was repeated inside us. We felt hollow. Two dead men, and all our instincts for pulsing life were affronted by it. All they stood for at home and work seemed embraced in the curl of their broken arms that had failed to stave off the something ruthless they had been pitted against.

The stopped traffic seemed to stand for something in the city that had stopped. It was as if the people put their arms up before their eyes like those two men.

Two men? Two million men.

If we could visualize war like the drop of those two men! If our cities could get it! It wasn't told when the fighting was on, and now we forget. I remember one of the correspondents saying to me on the western front that they always called them the Boches in their cabled news—the limp and bloody things they stepped around and over on their way about after an engagement. "Of course they're not Boches," he said.

We eat these luncheons. We hear brilliant speakers. War tends to get remote. If two bodies fell through the roof and lay here on the floor of this ball room before us, their khaki crushed flat and their skulls cracked, we should see what the stakes are in what we call foreign policy—what the thing is that the world has put up with in war. Are we to eat and feel and go home and do nothing? Or are we to feel it as something hollow inside us? Something hollow in our common life? Something we must stop?

We are swinging on a scaffold with old ropes—acids are gnawing them—and it's our children who will fall.

Before his death, Arthur Gleason who was one of our founders, who volunteered as a stretcher bearer in Belgium in the early days of 1914, whose sheer courage and steadying work was the subject of one of Philip Gibbs' first dispatches from the front, wrote:

> "In that deadlock of slaughter where I worked, I saw no pageantry of war, no glitter and pomp, at all. Nothing remains to me of war pictures except the bleakness . . . When I do not see a landscape, dreary with its creeping ruin, I see men in pain.
>
> "I helped to carry these men in. One of them fainted on my shoulder, a lad who had gone twenty-four hours with no care for the hole through his bicep muscle. Another of them bled into my coat, with which I wrapped him, till it was heavy. Another of them lay sobbing all the ten mile ride from the dressing station to the hospital. . . . .
>
> "There is no glamour in war. All the glamour is in the recruiting stations and the vaudeville houses and in the mind of dreamers. I have a wish that every leader of public opinion in America might have had what was somehow granted to me. The experiences of such men are necessarily sur-

face experiences. They cannot stop to help obscure men as they lie hurt to death. So when they speak on these sterner matters, such as war, which to us are the issues of life and death, they use the language of theory. If they had seen what I have seen, they would not talk as they talk of war. I am sorry that life has denied them initiation into the vision of suffering. They will make many simple persons think as they think. And these will have to pay the price of that ignorance in such suffering as that of the Belgian peasantry."

To negative war is less than half the opportunity which lies before us on our new open roads of foreign relations. I was asked to read the concluding paragraphs of the statement our study group of 1918 gave out with its platform. It dealt with our affirmative chance and it grounded American policy not on alien or strange foundations but on our own experience as a people. Let me condense it.

"In search of freedom [it ran] our forefathers turned their faces to the West, set out across the Atlantic and laid the foundations of an American Commonwealth. Even in the free spaces of the New World they could not attain independence, unity, and democracy, in such measure as we now possess them, without struggle. It has remained for our generation, with these things not wholly achieved, to turn our faces toward the East and set out overseas across the Atlantic to aid the peoples from whom we sprang to achieve those things in the midst of the more rigid social fabric of the Old World. . . ."

We pointed out that —

"In our war of the Revolution, in which we ourselves struck for independence and nationality, we established tradition which prompts us to stand for the freedom and self-determination of the weaker peoples. . . ."

We pointed out that —

"In our championship, through the Monroe Doctrine, of the lesser American states, we supported in one hemisphere this fundamental principle which we now urge as a basis for both."

We pointed out that —

"In our Civil War, in which we determined whether in the New World a nation conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men

are created equal, might endure, we liberated a race which we had oppressed, and made the union of free states secure. So now we stand for the greatest measure of autonomy, and for absolute freedom of religion, of civil liberty, of cultural development of the weaker peoples within the stronger nations, and of the native peoples of the undeveloped regions of the earth."

And we pointed out that—

"Out of our civil travail through which was confirmed our union of free states, which with unfortified boundaries and unantagonistic development stretches from ocean to ocean, we stand for the development of a League of Nations which shall bring the free peoples of the earth into a new fellowship. . . ."

At a time when, to quote our statement of Armistice week, 1918, "deep seated forces of reaction would hamper a democratic solution and assert the old schemes of competitive militarism, of economic wars after the war, of division and bitterness and unhealed sores, such as will breed future wars and rob this one of its great culmination," we hailed in "President Wilson's state papers the elements of a new charter." But we saw in them "merely an extension of the principles that had been woven into the fabric of our national life," principles which would serve us in our post-war encounters with the world in which we live. Fundamentally we held that—

"In our Declaration of Independence, our Constitution, the Monroe Doctrine, and the Emancipation Proclamation, the New World has offered documents which have *contributed to the organized freedom of mankind.*"

It was in that spirit that the Foreign Policy Association was born. There was prescience in that statement, not only as to the forces which have had to be contended with in the decade that has intervened, but in its insight as to the idealism which is crystallizing among us as a people.

Now as then, ours is the opportunity as American citizens to project on the stage of the world principles which have shot through each of the great epochs of American life.

Excerpts From Letters and Cablegrams

SIR HERBERT B. AMES (Canada)
Former Treasurer of the League of Nations

I consider that the F. P. A., with its absolutely impartial and well-balanced discussions of world problems, is accomplishing much in bringing about sympathetic and intelligent cooperation on the part of Americans with their fellow citizens of the world.

NEWTON D. BAKER (U. S.)
Ex-Secretary of War, 1916-1921

There was a time immediately after the World War when it seemed to me likely that America would spring fully equipped into the leadership of the world in the struggle for international understanding and peace. That time passed with the unselfish enthusiasm of our great war effort, and now if America is to do her part in the world, it can only be brought about by re-educating ourselves back to the possibility of the vision we saw so clearly in 1918. For this educating process, I know no agency doing a better job than the Foreign Policy Association.

SIR ROBERT LAIRD BORDEN (Canada)
Former Prime Minister of Canada

The Foreign Policy Association has done, and it is still doing, a most valuable work in arousing an interest in all that concerns good international relations. It is only by thorough understanding and generous cooperation that the future peace of the World can be assured.

In the World today where each Nation is at the threshold of every other there can be no hermit state. Especially is it essential that between the British and the American Commonwealths there should be, without formal Treaty, such true comprehension and such generous cooperation as will lead to the enthronement of public right and the peace of the World.

ADMIRAL MARK L. BRISTOL (U. S.)
Commander-in-Chief, Asiatic Fleet

I would like to state that in my opinion you and those associated with you and all members of the Foreign Policy Association can be very proud of celebrating this tenth anniversary which completes a decade of very successful and necessary effort to bring to the attention of the American people information of world affairs for their better understanding thereof and to the end that the American people may rightfully assume their proper responsibilities in relation to other nations and to their international obligations. I have found the publications of the Foreign Policy Association very helpful and instructive.

PIERRE COMERT (France)
Director Information Section, League of Nations Secretariat

Cordial congratulations on your tenth anniversary which precedes ours by two months. You represent an attempt to educate public opinion by application of intelligent and impartial thought to international problems which encourages all those desiring better understanding among peoples in the interest of world peace. I wish similar associations existed in all countries.

EXCERPTS FROM LETTERS AND CABLEGRAMS

VISCOUNTESS GLADSTONE (Great Britain)
League of Nations Union, London

Hearty congratulations and best wishes for continued success in your work for international understanding.

ARTHUR HENDERSON (Great Britain)
M.P.; Minister in War Cabinet; Home Secretary in Labour Government

I know from personal observation the invaluable services the Association has rendered to the great cause of international peace and understanding. The spread of reliable information concerning foreign affairs, the providing of an open forum for the discussion of policies and events that intimately touch the vital interests of world peace, the bringing together of persons who are alive to the supreme importance of abolishing war and of ensuring the close collaboration of democratic communities in the constructive tasks of peace, are educational activities of a very high value.

COLONEL EDWARD M. HOUSE (U. S.)
Formerly personal representative of President Wilson

The influence of the Foreign Policy Association has become so wide and important that it is difficult to realize that it is only now celebrating its tenth anniversary.

Ten years ago American public opinion regarding foreign affairs was a small and nebulous quantity. Today there is a large and ever-growing number of our citizens who are well informed on current events throughout the world.

Your organization has been one of the main sources of education. I congratulate you and felicitate with you upon this conspicuous service, and I wish for you continued success.

PHILIP KERR (Great Britain)
Secretary of Rhodes Trust; former Secretary to Lloyd George.

The Foreign Policy Association is one of the best agencies I know for casting the limelight of accurate information and honest criticism on the complications of international affairs. Such agencies are as essential to the good government of the world as parties are to the good government of nations.

MRS. JAMES LEES LAIDLAW (U. S.)
Member of Board of Directors, League of Nations Association, Inc.

I think I can give all your efforts no higher praise than to apply to your work the words of General Smuts, speaking of the League of Nations, "If we hadn't it, someone would have to invent it."

THOMAS W. LAMONT (U. S.)
of J. P. Morgan & Co.

I, too, extend at this particular time my hearty congratulations upon your splendid conduct of the affairs of the Association and upon its achievements.

CHRISTIAN LANGE (Norway)
Secretary, Interparliamentary Union

Greetings. Congratulations. Association rounding successfully tenth anniversary. No task more useful than instructing public opinion on problems so-

called foreign policy—their happy and peaceful solution in our age of international interdependence is primary importance for healthy development of public life of any nations however powerful.

EMIL LUDWIG (Germany)
Author of "Bismarck," "Napoleon," "William II," etc.

Please read Timon of Athens last four lines. Congratulations and greetings.

"Bring me into your city,
And I will use the olive with my sword;
Make war breed peace; make peace stint war, make each
Prescribe to other as each other's leech.
Let our drums strike."

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD (Great Britain)
Former Labour Prime Minister

Heartiest greetings and good wishes on tenth anniversary of Foreign Policy Association.

SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA (Spain)
Former head of Disarmament Section of the League of Nations

My experience in Geneva has confirmed my initial impression that ultimately the League of Nations and all that such a phrase represents for me, i.e., the organization of the World-Community, depends on the existence of an enlightened and informed public opinion. I know nothing anywhere that can compare even unfavorably with the work done in this respect by the Foreign Policy Association. I receive their periodical papers as the indispensable food of my international mind, and the more I read them the more I feel drawn to put in them the implicit confidence which was born in me from the way in which they treated the problems on which I could check their data and opinion with my own experience and knowledge of the subject.

GILBERT MURRAY (Great Britain)
Eminent Greek scholar, Cambridge University, England

Warmest greetings and good wishes to Association on tenth Armistice Day.

FRIDTJOF NANSEN (Norway)
Eminent explorer; delegate to League of Nations

Please convey Foreign Policy Association warmest wishes for continued successful work for cooperation of nations.

J. H. OLDHAM (Great Britain)
Secretary in Great Britain, International Missionary Council

Everyone who realizes the immense part which America must play in world affairs must rejoice in the existence of an association to promote a better understanding of international questions and to contribute to the education of public opinion in regard to these matters with which the future welfare and progress of mankind is bound up so deeply.

EXCERPTS FROM LETTERS AND CABLEGRAMS

JAMES T. SHOTWELL (U. S.)
Director Division of Economics and History, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

The study of international relations is steadily defining its field by a process in which the Foreign Policy Association has been one of the chief leaders.

ANDRÉ SIEGFRIED (France)
Author of "America Comes of Age"

By your intelligent activity you are rendering an exceptional service not only to your own country but to all nations. And, even when you bring no solution to problems, the very fact that you honestly expose and analyze political questions, is already half way towards the right solutions.

ALBERT THOMAS (France)
Director, International Labour Office, Geneva

I need not tell you how much I should have liked to be with you. I regret it all the more because I have kept the most vivid memories of the hours during which I was the guest of the Foreign Policy Association. I have always appreciated its effort to make Europe known, and I hope with all my heart that it will be repaid by the Europeans who wish to know the United States better.

BRIGADIER GENERAL LORD THOMSON (Great Britain)
Former Secretary of State for Air

Convey to all old friends, my cordial greetings and best wishes for continued progress in your great and useful work.

LOUISE WEISS (France)
Editor, L'Europe Nouvelle, Paris

I am happy to be with you in thought on this solemn day on which you celebrate your tenth anniversary. You know how much I admire your efforts.

Peace is ten years old. Are not coincidences of date and duration remarkable? Are they not symbolic for the new generation, for you, for us, who strive, since the armistice, to contribute to the erection of a new order from which cruelty will be absent and of which equity will be the foundation?

OWEN D. YOUNG (U. S.)
Chairman of the Board, General Electric Co., and Radio Corporation of America; member of Dawes Commission

I congratulate the Foreign Policy Association not merely on what it has done, but what it can do. Hundreds of organizations today offer us information, so-called, on every conceivable subject. In the field of intelligent information, however, we certainly do not suffer from overproduction, especially in questions relating to foreign affairs. That a real demand exists for this commodity and that the Foreign Policy Association is meeting the demand is amply proven by your record for the past ten years.

As further developments in transportation and communication make the world an even smaller place in which nations must live still more closely together, it is obvious that fresh opportunities will confront your Association for furnishing the American public with the only raw material from which a really intelligent public opinion can be made.

Who's Who in the F.P.A. Staff

Administration

JAMES G. McDONALD (Chairman of the Board of Directors), A.B. Indiana University, 1909, A.M. 1910; studied Graduate School, Harvard, 1911-14; Assistant, Department of History, Harvard, 1911-14, and Radcliffe College, 1913-14; Woodbury Lowery traveling fellow, Harvard, in Spain and France, 1915-16; Assistant Professor History and Political Science, Indiana University, 1914-15, 1916-18; studied abroad almost every summer since 1919. Trustee, Twentieth Century Fund. Director, Asia Magazine. Member: Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; National Committee on American-Japanese Relations; American National Council, Institute of Pacific Relations. Became Chairman of the League of Free Nations Association (later F.P.A.) 1919.

ESTHER GRACIE OGDEN (Secretary), early years, business and foreign travel; student, School of Social Work, 1908-09; Columbia University, 1909-10; National Board, N.A.W.S.A., 1915-20; President, National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, Inc., 1916-20. F.P.A. Membership Secretary 1921-28; became Secretary, April, 1928.

CAROLYN E. MARTIN (Assistant Treasurer), extension courses at Boston University and Columbia University; varied accounting experience with Hall Publishing Company, Christian Science Publishing Society and others in Boston and New York. Joined staff of League of Free Nations Association (later F.P.A.) April, 1919, and has therefore served longer than anyone else on the staff, with the exception of Mr. McDonald.

OLIVE L. SAWYER (Assistant to the Chairman), one year Wheaton College and one year Simmons College School of Secretarial Studies; LL.B. Portia Law School, Boston, 1921; Secretary to Richard W. Hale (Hale and Dorr, Boston) 1918-20; to Charles P. Howland (Rushmore, Bisbee & Stern, New York) 1921-25, the last six months in Athens, Greece, on work of the Refugee Settlement Commission of the League of Nations. Joined F.P.A. staff October, 1925.

Research Department

RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL (Research Director), A.B. Occidental College, 1918; Ph.D. Princeton, 1922; travelled through Africa 1925-26 under the auspices of the Bureau of International Research of Harvard University and Radcliffe College, to make a study of conditions in the territories; instructor and Assistant Professor of Government, Harvard University, 1922-27. Author: Contemporary French Politics, Appleton, 1920; The Washington Conference, Appleton, 1922; International Relations, Holt, 1925; Japanese Immigration, World Peace Foundation, 1924; The International Opium Conferences, World Peace Foundation, 1925; The Native Problem in Africa, 2 volumes, Macmillan, 1928; Europe: A History of Ten Years (written with the aid of the F.P.A. staff) Macmillan, 1928; Languages: German, French, Spanish. Became Research Director of the F.P.A. September, 1927.

LEWIS WEBSTER JONES (Editor and Economist), A.B. Reed College, 1922; Ph.D. Brookings School of Economics, 1928; instructor in Government, Reed College, 1922-23; arbitrator labor disputes, logging and lumbering industry of Pacific Northwest, 1923; graduate student economics, Columbia, 1924-25; Brookings Fellow, Robert Brookings Graduate School of Economics and Government, Washington, D.C., 1924-25; Eastman Fellow same institution, 1925-26; member F.P.A. Research Staff, 1926-27; Fellow Social Science Research Council, headquarters in London, 1927-28. Language: French. Became Editor of F.P.A. Information Service and F.P.A. economist, October, 1928.

WHO'S WHO IN THE F. P. A. STAFF

Research Department (Continued)

ELIZABETH PAULINE MacCALLUM (Near East, British Empire), A.M. Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, 1919; postgraduate work under Prof. Carlton J. H. Hayes, Columbia University 1921-22, 1924-25; Teacher, 1919-21 Dawson City, Yukon Territory, and (1915-1918) Rocky Mountain House, Alberta; Assistant Secretary of the Social Service Council of Canada and Assistant Editor of "Social Welfare," the organ of Canadian social work, 1922-24. Born in Turkey and lived there 14 years. Author: The Nationalist Crusade in Syria, F.P.A., 1928. Languages: Turkish, French, German. Joined F.P.A. staff September, 1925.

VERA A. MICHELES (Russia, Italy, Far East, International Law), A.B. Radcliffe College, 1925; A.M. Yale University, 1926; Ph.D. Radcliffe College, 1928; thesis, Governments *de facto,* with special reference to the Soviet Government. Languages: Russian, German, French, Italian, Spanish, Slavic languages (Serbian and Bulgarian). Born in Russia and lived there sixteen years. Joined F.P.A. staff September, 1928.

HELEN HOWELL MOORHEAD (Secretary, Opium Research Committee), A.B. Bryn Mawr, 1904; graduate student, University of Grenoble, 1907; lived in England, France, Italy, 1904-07; Red Cross Headquarters, Washington, D. C., December, 1917-March, 1919; visited League of Nations as representative of the F.P.A. 1923, 1924-25, 1926, 1928. Language: French. Joined F.P.A. staff as Secretary of the Opium Research Committee October, 1922; Assistant to the Research Director, 1927-28; Member Board of Directors, 1928.

ONA KATHARINE DALTON RINGWOOD (Librarian), Syracuse University two years; Mt. Holyoke College a few months; New York State Library School summer course certificate; courses in Columbia University School of Library Service; a tourist's summer in Europe; reference work in public libraries at Ilion, N. Y., and Bridgeport, Conn., 1916-18; U. S. Ordnance Dept. 1918-19; in library of National Bank of Commerce in New York, 1919-24; on New York Times editorial index 1924-28; reference work in Newark, N. J., Public Library, January-July, 1928; became F.P.A. librarian July, 1928.

AGNES STEWART WADDELL (Spain, Central and South America), A.B. Russell Sage College, 1926; Private Secretary to President, Mackenzie College, Sao Paulo, Brazil, 1919-22; Bulletin of the Pan American Union, Washington, D. C., 1925. Born in Brazil and lived there 19 years. Madrid, Spain, summer 1928. Languages: Portuguese, Spanish, French. Joined F.P.A. staff August, 1926.

MILDRED S. WERTHEIMER (Central Europe, League of Nations), A.B. Vassar College, 1917; M.A. Columbia University, 1918; Ph.D. Columbia University, 1924; thesis: The Pan-German League, 1890-1914; matriculated University of Berlin, 1921; International Law Division of Col. House Commission of Inquiry, November, 1918-May, 1919; travelled in Europe 1921, 1923, 1924, 1926, 1927; attended Second, Fourth and Fifth Assemblies of the League of Nations. Languages: German, French. Joined F.P.A. staff April, 1924.

ELIZABETH BATTERHAM (Secretary of the Research Department), A.B. Ohio State University, 1921; Art Student's League of New York, 1922-23, member, 1923. Languages: French, Spanish. Joined F.P.A. staff January, 1926.

WHO'S WHO IN THE F. P. A. STAFF

Promotion Bureau

ELIZABETH HILLIARD RAGAN (Director of the Promotion Bureau), A.B. Radcliffe College, 1908; taught English and History, Girls High School, Atlanta, Georgia, 1908-16; Secretary to Ordnance Captain in War Department, 1917-18; Secretary to Vice-President, American International Corporation (New York City) 1918-19; office manager, Committee on Dispensary Development, N.Y.C., 1919-20; Civic Director, Woman's City Club, Cincinnati, 1920-21; Extension Secretary, National Child Welfare Association, 1921-23; was organizer for League of Women Voters, Second Region of N.Y. Joined F.P.A. staff September, 1927.

Speakers' Bureau

ELIZABETH McK. SCOTT (Director of the Speakers' Bureau), A.B. Wellesley 1919; Sorbonne, 1921-22; A.M. Radcliffe, 1924; Upsala University (Sweden) under American Scandinavian Foundation, 1924-25; New York University as Penfield Fellow in International Law and Relations 1925-27; American representative Hague Summer School 1927; travelled through South and Central Europe; did newspaper and magazine work with Boston American, and Sunset Magazine (San Francisco); made a study of conditions in the Baltics; organizer for National Woman's Party in Kentucky and Ohio early part of 1928. Joined F.P.A. staff September, 1928.

FRANCES J. PRATT (Assistant in the Speakers' Bureau), two years at Columbia University; with the Committee on Tuberculosis and Public Health of the State Charities Aid Association, 1920-22; Executive Secretary of the South Suffolk County Chapter of the American Red Cross at Islip, N. Y., 1922-25; secretary to W. K. Post (lawyer) 1925-26. Joined F.P.A. staff October, 1926.

Washington Bureau

WILLIAM T. STONE, A.B. Reed College, 1922; graduate student London School of Economics, January-June, 1923; Editorial and News Staff, Portland Oregon Telegram, 1921-22; special correspondent, International News Service, Geneva and London, 1923, and for Chicago Daily News Foreign Service, Germany, 1923-24; visited Central Europe, the Balkans and the Near East, 1924, contributing articles to London Daily Herald, New York Evening Post, etc. Joined F.P.A. staff as Research Assistant on Opium Committee June, 1924; became Editor of research publications, 1925. Now head of F.P.A. Washington Bureau.

HERBERT L. MAY, LL.B. New York Law School, 1897; member of the New York City Bar; travelled in Europe and various other parts of the world 1902-1928; lived in Europe for several years; special studies in the Far East on Opium for the F.P.A. 1926-27. Languages: German, French, Italian. Joined F.P.A. staff February, 1926. Elected by Council of the League of Nations in December, 1928, member of Central Board of Control established by Geneva Opium Convention of 1925.

Secretaries, stenographers and clerical assistants bring the total office personnel to thirty-seven.

The PRESS on Ten Y

The Atlanta Journal.
Daily, Sunday, Tri-Weekly
Entered at Post Office in Atlanta as Mail Matter of the Second Class.
By Carrier—Payable Weekly or in Advance
MONDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 12, 1928.

Americans' Keener Interest In International Affairs

THE ten years since the close of the World war have seen a remarkable growth of public interest, at least on this side of the water, in world affairs and in our own country's foreign relations. Concern with such matters was once limited to a relatively small circle of officials, students and banking or business leaders. The catastrophe of 1914 drew millions of minds toward Europe and its destinies; while the sailing of our expeditionary forces for France began the weaving of potent ties between the western and eastern shores of the Atlantic. In the last decade more Americans have traveled in Europe than in the entire century preceding. Representative people of the two hemispheres have come into closer cultural contacts than ever before. The increase in financial and commercial transactions has been many fold. These and other factors would be expected to produce a widened interest in our international relations, but the actual result far exceeds what might have

en's clubs
roadside, a
nificant, too
came not on
tion, but also
trysides, such
Niota, Tennessee
nassus, Pennsylv
Texas; Shawnee,
Iowa. No longer c
cans are interested
nental or provincial
beyond the seas into
and hopes are common

The inquiries directed
icy association during th
will serve to show how wi
jects holds the country's a
those asked about by the la
persons were: Diplomatic
American investments abroad,
Briand treaty, the Pan-America
at Havana and our relations in
Latin America, the United States policy in
Nicaragua, the naval building program,
negotiations and revision of

The Nation
November 14, 1928

TEN YEARS SINCE THE ARMISTICE! Ten years of disillusionment since the wild jubilation of that November day in 1918 when the world faced the future with a
ep resolve that such a war should not come again. Look-
g back upon those years it seems incredible that people
uld settle into the old ruts, reabsorb the old prejudices,
d forget the lessons of that worst conflict in history.
ut that is precisely what they have done. The Allied Pow-
rs are spending more money for "defense" than they did
efore the war, and their weapons of destruction are in-
nitely more deadly than they were in 1918. The govern-
ents of the older Powers are using military forces to cap-
ure economic empires as persistently as they ever did.
nly in the defeated and outcast nations have the lessons of
he war been taken seriously. What a sardonic fate for the
eals of Woodrow Wilson that they should find root only
n the nations which he denounced! Germany, ten years
fter the armistice, is working valiantly for peace against
he militarism of the Allies, and Russia has become the
oremost champion of subject peoples. In our own country
he most hopeful sign of a movement toward peace is the
reat increase of interest in foreign affairs. While most of
our people are still drunk with the old patriotism, organiza-
ions like the Foreign Policy Association—now celebrating
its tenth anniversary—have greatly increased their scope
and influence. An informed public opinion favorable to
open diplomacy may in time realize the hope of the first
Armistice Day.

POLICY GROUP

THE NEW YORK TIMES.
NOVEMBER 11, 1928.
YS JAPAN STUDIES
DOCTRINE

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune

Saturday, November 10, 1928

Looking Out Across the Borders

When people in Chugwater, Wyo., Napoleon, Iowa, Pampa, Tex., and Parnassus, Pa., write to the Foreign Policy Association asking information, that organization, which to-day is celebrating its tenth birthday, has a right to feel encouraged. It was founded in the belief that in the post-war years America would need and want more information and knowledge about international questions. No one doubted the need; but some of the founders had doubts of the want.

To-day the Foreign Policy Association is a busier body than the little group who met together ten years ago under the modest title of "Committee on American Policy" dreamed it could become. Its Saturday luncheon discussions of foreign policy are one of the features of the New York winter; attendance sometimes runs above the thousand mark, and a radio circuit finds the debates of sufficient interest to be transmitted through a score of broadcasting stations. Meanwhile, fifteen other cities, including St. Paul, in the West, and Richmond, in the South, have taken up the New York foreign-policy-luncheon habit. Behind the luncheons that association has become a national clearing house of research and information. Editors like utilize its information service, writers in for data, and those who make up the

Boston T
324 WASHINGTON STR
(Entered at the Post
as Second Clas
THURSDAY, NO
Ten Years of
The World War c
know, on Nov. 11, 19
fore this great concl
in New York City a
first formal meetin
ganization which, u
Foreign Policy Asso
come known in all
Here is a coincidenc
guns of the most i
which civilization h
not yet stilled. A
hours before that s
of citizens organize
sociation designed t
after-war problems
them to the test of
discussion. Today,
Foreign Policy ha
branches in Boston,
nati, St. Paul, St.
other American citie
The success whic
undertaking must b
to the remarkable c

been forecast.

As one among many evidences, take the Foreign Policy association, originated in the spring of 1918 by a small group of students, editors and publicists meeting in New York to talk over certain problems which promised to loom large when the war was over. "They felt keenly," as one of their number wrote, "the lack of informed public opinion in the United States; and they concluded that two things were requisite to the development of sound judgments on international problems: First, careful study of all sides of every important international question affecting the United States; second, communication of the results of such study to as large a number of Americans as possible, to the end that they might have a better understanding of what our foreign problems are and how they may be dealt with most effectually." The "Committee on American Policy," as the group first was called, gradually widened into the Foreign Policy association, with research and educational departments of rare excellence, with a membership body in each of the forty-eight states, with branches in fourteen American cities and with an influence as wholesome as farranging.

More than three thousand requests for information, many of which required extensive research, have been answered by the association this year—requests from business men as well as college professors, from investment bankers as well as students and lecturers; from libraries, from newspapers, from wom-

rise of the nat
naval disarmam
accord, the Lea
Doctrine, Fascism
ternational arbitr
ence, the Worl
in Egypt, India,
international contro
tion of international
of mandates, the pro
World war debts.

"Since its inception
ment," we are told, "
dred technical studies
subjects of current inte
These reports, published
icy Information Service,
street, New York, are use
thousand, five hundred t
others whose task it is to
eign affairs." The Journ
ommends this service, the
is nominal, because the Fo
ciation is conducted entirely
good understanding and fr
ships between the American
rest of mankind.

It augurs well for the futu
lationships and for the world
good will that more and more
interest in international affairs,
is ever a step toward neighborlin

FOREIGN
On November 11 almos
whole world will celebrate "Armi
tice day." It will be the tenth an
niversary.

To what extent has America's in-
terest in world affairs increased dur-
ing these ten years?

A bulletin just issued gives ex-
perience of the Foreign Policy asso-
ciation, which is celebrating its
tenth anniversary coincident with
the Armistice.

During these years the Foreign
Policy association has been serving
as a clearing house for accurate in-
formation on foreign affairs, meet-
ing the needs of editors, teachers
and others whose task it is to in-
terpret our foreign affairs. The
responses have been from these
groups all over the country af
ing striking evidence of Ame
growing interest.

The one outstanding conclu
is that America is more and m
interested in its relations with
rest of the world.

On its tenth anniversary
Foreign Policy association is m
than ever convinced of the imp
tance of developing an intellig
understanding of our internatio
relations. As Elihu Root has s
"A democracy which undertakes
control its own foreign relations ou
to know something about the subject
The response to the associati
activities indicates that America
are anxious "to know somethi
about the subject."

MONROE D

Rowell Sees Possible Use of Idea in Manchuria, Warning Against Isolating Asia.

OUR 'SUPERIORITY' FUTILE

Foreign Policy Association Gets Many Greetings at Its Tenth Anniversary Luncheon.

Japan is principally interested at
present in what the United States is
doing and in studying
China, according to
Mr. California public
embers of the For-
eign Policy association at their tenth
anniversary luncheon at the Hotel
Biltmore. Japan might
argue that Japan might
construct such a doc-
trine in Manchuria. Mr.
Rowell asserted that the
United States is not continue to
be a claim of superi-
ority of Asia and domi-
nation.

Hogg, editor of The
was chairman of the
ed the association is
ears and asserted that
ar, was less than half
y before the organiza-
ed out that there were
men under arms in
than in 1913.
McDonald, Chairman of
Policy Association, des-
tions he had observed
Europe in the Summer
d that great recovery
place in most countries
because of absolutism or
World War. He was not
Russia, Poland, Italy and
in countries,
dictatorships

ing hot
and scholars
and Chugwater and Pa
For all this the individuals w

Years After War

Foreign Policy Association's Inquiry Discloses Higher Expenditures Over 1913

,011,300 Under Arms

,285,000 Enroll in Reserve Corps in 52 Nations

he Foreign Policy Association
the goal of general disarmament
ed in the treaties of peace been
ned? Once again, on the tenth
ary of the Armistice, this ques-
alsed by the heavy burden of
armaments with which a large
the world is still saddled.
of the military expenditures
med forces of the principal
the world, prepared by the
icy Association, reveals a
ease in man power and
nditures over 1913. This
that to-day, ten years
o end war, 6,011,300 men
the active forces of the
ipal countries of the
285,000 are enrolled in
es and subject to mili-
se of war.

mies Increased
In Europe, where Germ
and her former allies have
tually disarmed

Facts Upon Facts' Educating Public on World Amity

Foreign Policy Association Affords Opportunity for Frank Discussions

SPECIAL FROM MONITOR BUREAU

NEW YORK—The Foreign Policy Association, with headquarters in New York and branches in many cities, was founded in 1919 to stand for "a liberal and constructive American foreign policy, to be developed through impartial discussion on both sides of given international

ts," which
deal in-
er-
nessim
dictatorships
in Russia,

Atlanta Constitution
November 8, 1928

ears of the F.P.A.

ranscript
ER, BOSTON 8, MASS.
Office, Boston, Mass., Mail Matter)
VEMBER 8, 1928

he "F. P. A."

me to an end, as all
8. Just one day be-
sion, there occurred
great beginning. The
was held of an or-
der the name of the
lation, has since be-
parts of this nation.
worthy of note. The
mense test of arms
as ever known were
d yet, twentyt-four
lence came, a group
in New York an as-
aid in the solution of
through submitting
earnest thought and
after ten years, the
s active, influential
Philadelphia, Cincin-
Louis and numerous
e.
h has attended this
attributed primarily
haracter and quality

The World
ESTABLISHED BY JOSEPH PULITZER.
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1928.

TEN YEARS OF THE FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

In the spring of 1918 a small group of students of foreign affairs took time by the forelock. Anticipating that any possible result of the war would leave raw edges to heal and open questions to discuss, in which our own country would be more directly interested than it had been in its previous state of semi-isolation, they formed a "Committee on American Policy," now the Foreign Policy Association. Its work properly dates from the armistice. It is ten years old to-morrow.

The association may fitly be congratulated upon a decade of useful work. Nothing more eloquently testifies to that usefulness than the fact that the organization has members in every State, fourteen branches in large cities, a Washington bureau and a research department serving information upon foreign affairs. Its meetings were attended by more than 27,000 persons last year. It serves information to 3,500 editors, college professors and others in influential place. It has given hearing to many representative men of a dozen nations. Its discussions find an echo in the press. It has not been the experience of the Foreign Policy Association that thoughtful Americans still ask "What have we to do with abroad?" They know we cannot live to ourselves alone.

It is a pleasure to commend the association for its ten years' helpful work.

SURVEY GRAPHIC—
ROBERT W. DEF

It was in such an atmosphere that the group out of which grew the Foreign Policy Association held its first meetings. Today, with a national membership of nine thousand, with branches in Boston, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Minneapolis, St. Louis, Richmond, and the rest; with even-handed luncheon debates attended by nearly 50,000 people last year in New York and fifteen other centers; with a Washington office, and contacts at Geneva, Paris, London, Berlin and other capitals; with bulletins reaching ten thousand people weekly; with a research staff with a record of one hundred technical studies, the Foreign Policy Association has helped break precedent as a modern adventure in adult education.

It has helped demonstrate that it is possible to carry forward swift and current research in controversial fields—work so sound, so free of any axe to grind, as to serve not only the wide gamut of points of view represented by its own members, but by newspaper editors and government officials of opposing political

IT IS a favorite hab
American public is no
The statement may be
portant qualification.
example, whether the cr
age American business ma
housewife with their
ought

THE REPUBLIC
November 8

peans to say that the
d in foreign affairs.
If so, it needs im-
ary to know for
paring the aver-
ogical Middle Western
ar grants, the thor-
e circle England and
have an cosmopolitans in
events. professional
ive com comes to
y at least hard
e with sh coun-
reign Pol niza-
has just tion
ttle group ts
decade ago
n the Uni
own to an
t has thous
forty-eight
cities; 27,000
its luncheon discussion
ward controversial issues engaged in debate
large numbers of others heard them broadcast b
radio; it has a research department which has pro-
duced one hundred careful technical studies of vari-
ous subjects, which have been widely distributed to
editors, writers, teachers and lecturers. These in-
dividuals also make special inquiries of their
at the rate of 3,000 a year, which are answ
a wise foreign policy in a democracy
from an informed public opinion
Policy Association is bre
showing how it is
curately, impa
importa

N Eagle

The Hartford Times
Established 1817.
Daily Edition Founded in 1841.
by
ALFRED E. BURR.
Tuesday, November 6, 1928.

COMING OF AGE.

With the rapid increase in American material interest in foreign countries, particularly through the export of surplus capital, it was inevitable that concern with diplomatic and political relations with other nations should become much more marked in the United States than it was before the war. Nevertheless, the Foreign Policy association is quite justified in calling attention to its own part in stimulating that interest and in providing the medium for research and discussion. Since the spring of 1918, when a grou of editors and publicists formed a sm group to discuss matters of for policy, calling themselves the mittee of American Policy, the ance at meetings of the sub organized Foreign Policy has increased by leaps The total attendance in 1918-1919 was 6,742. was 27,110. In addi York meetings the branches in fourte Hartford, in which well attended. L eign Policy associatio search bureau into var American and European fo

From the requests for from the research bureau

om it has secured to
ies. From the time
earliest meetings in
blic has taken note
d in its councils were
rity, or of fanatics,
pecial pleader. The
onstantly comprised
distinction and au-
om what group they
to say, whether they
vored American par-
ague of Nations, or
opponents of such
n when men and
ly well known, in a
ome to the platform
y Association, almost
been asked to come
reason—usually be-
d real knowledge and
in the particular field
iscussion.

t merit, preferring
ry, has had much to
n of the association,
merous branches and
ship throughout the
n the respect of the
inly the organization
n its tenth anniver-
mplishing a valuable
Some extreme critics
see danger in its
e that the association
sidious outside rela-
ears seem to us idle
this century, when
has become well-nigh
n on the face of the
nt that the greatest
knowledge of foreign
developed here, and
spread, as widely as
thoughtful citizens.

FOREIGN POLICY GROUP REVIEWS ACTIVE DECADE

Status of Democracy in Europe Is Discussed at Opening Luncheon

SPECIAL FROM MONITOR BUREAU

NEW YORK—Ten years of progress in international understanding and co-operation were celebrated at the first luncheon discussion of the Foreign Policy Association this season, just held at the Astor Hotel. The luncheon, which marked the tenth anniversary of the organization, was attended by more than 1000 members and guests. Paul U. Kellogg, editor of the Survey, presided.

James G. McDonald, chairman of the association, summarized the progress of European countries since the armistice. He declared that the future of democracy in Europe could not be judged from present developments. He held that what he called the apparent retrogression of democracy in Italy, Spain, Poland, Russia and Turkey does not adequately present the status of democracy in Europe, since, he declared, none of those countries had ever been more than superficially touched by democratic ideas

Parliamentarianism Persists

On the other hand, he continued, Britain, France, Germany, Czechoslovakia and Greece are examples not only of democracy but of parliamentarianism of

...aking a valuable trail by ...ally, effectively and, perhaps most ...t of all, painlessly.

The Christian Science Monitor
November 15, 1928

A Well-Informed Public Opinion

AMERICAN public opinion is becoming increasingly conscious of the larger responsibility which the United States is assuming in world affairs. The experience which the Foreign Policy Association has enjoyed since its founding ten years ago offers persuasive proof of this conclusion. Devoted to an industrious study and dissemination of facts concerning important international problems, and to the public discussion of these questions, the association has grown from a local group of modest beginnings to an organization of nation-wide membership and nation-wide recognition. Information Service is used regularly by 3... editors, college professors and others concerned with the study of foreign affairs, and its eight... public discussions in sixteen different cities had an attendance of more than 27,000 during the last year.

The many inquiries which the Foreign Policy Association receives indicate that the heightening public interest in world problems is by no means limited to the large cities, but extends as well to the smaller communities and towns across the whole expanse of the country. Nor are the subjects confined to matters in which the United States has an intimate and concrete stake, but compass such other problems of general international concern as Japan's interest in Manchuria, British policy in Egypt, the control of opium, and the administration of mandated territories. An absence of entangling alliances does not mean an absence, in the United States, of an intensively active interest in international ... every reason to ...

HOOVER FRIENDSHIP FOR LEAGUE SEEN

U. S. Will Continue Co-operation, Foreign Policy Group Told

KELLOGG PACT PRAISED

Senate Should Ratify Anti-War Treaty, McDonald Says

America's co-operation with the League of Nations will continue under Mr. Hoover, was James G. McDonald's prediction yesterday at the tenth anniversary luncheon of the Foreign Policy Association in the Hotel Astor. ...bers and guests attended the Kellogg pact ...as agai...

Nov. 17, 192...

HITS SUPERIOR VIEW WARD CHINA

Rowell Is Foreign Policy Body New Era in Orient.

One thousand persons, representatives of almost every intellectual and business pursuit, attend the first 1928 meeting of the Foreign Policy Association held at the Hotel Astor, Manhattan, where the 10th anniversary of the association and of the Armistice was celebrated with a luncheon yesterday.

Chester Rowell the principal speaker, ...account of this observations ...t, from which he recently ...He said the assumption ...can people of an attitude ...ity toward the Chinese ...discarded.

...ite man may continue to ... part of Asia, and dominate ...rs by force, by money and ...power; but never again can ...by title of inherent and con... superiority," he declared, re... to the "renaissance of Asia," ...ing the war.

...nese Nationalism, Mr. Rowell ...uted to the activities of Chi... students who have studied in ...erican universities, and then re... to China to carry out their ...ciples. He stated that in view ... this fact America should not shun ...ests in Chinese affairs, but should ...be actively concerned and be a guiding influence. Americans must make ...mental adjustments to understand ...the new China, Mr. Rowell said.

James G. McDonald, chairman of ...association, presided. The open... address was made by Paul U. ...Kellogg, editor of the Survey

are of particular interest to ...
all the way from New York ...
Tiffin, Ohio, and Parnassus, ... of
subjects in order of the frequency of
inquiries concerning them are these:

Diplomatic protection of American investments abroad, Kellogg-Briand treaty, relations with Latin America, United States policy in Nicaragua, the United States naval building program, reparations and the revision of the Dawes plan, the rise of the nationalist government in China, naval disarmament and the Anglo-French accord, the league of nations, the Monroe doctrine, fascism, recognition of Russia, international arbitration, Philippine independence, the world court.

This sequence makes it plain enough that the average American is interested in foreign affairs first of all when it affects his own country, and that is a healthy sign, for it indicates that the interest is not a dilletante affair but represents a genuine desire to be informed upon matters in which the United States is asked to have an interest or in which we may legitimately be expected to be of service in general efforts toward international co-operation. Through the broadcasting of the short addresses on foreign policy by Mr. James McDonald, chairman of the association, the national viewpoint has been enlarged at least in respect to some thousands of listeners who tune in on his concise summaries of situations in other lands. We are rapidly coming of age, and the Foreign Policy association is entitled to considerable gratitude for providing so much of the material from which long pants are made.

SUGGESTIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP
in the
FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

Experience has shown that the most effective way to secure new members is through present members. You can help by listing your suggestions on this slip and mailing it to the Foreign Policy Association, 18 East 41st Street, New York City.

1. Name.....

   Address.....

2. Name.....

   Address.....

3. Name.....

   Address.....

4. Name.....

   Address.....

5. Name.....

   Address.....

Please indicate { You may / may not use my name.

The above are suggested by

Name.....

Address.....

The United States and Russia, Parts I and II. February 20 and March 6, 1929. 50c.

State Capitalism in Russia: The Soviet Economic System in Operation, 1917-26. Savel Zimand. 50c.

Foreign Interests in China. Nature of American, European and Japanese interests. February, 1927 **25c.**

Diplomatic Protection of American Investments Abroad. Development of American policy in force today and sanctions of international law. September, 1928. **15c.**

The Power of International Finance. Discussed by John Foster Dulles and Morris Hillquit at F. P. A. luncheon, March 24, 1928. **15c.**

Prosperity: Economic Nationalism or Internationalism. Discussed by Joseph M. Pavloff, David Friday and Sir Arthur Salter at F. P. A. luncheon, February 16, 1929. **15c.**

To the FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION
18 East 41st Street, New York

Enclosed is check for $..............................
covering

☐ F. P. A. INFORMATION SERVICE—fortnightly studies of current international problems.

Regular yearly subscription rate $5.00
To F. P. A. Members 3.00

☐ F. P. A. MEMBERSHIP—opportunity for keeping informed on world affairs.

Annual dues $5.00

☐ Publications checked above

Name ....

Address ....

....

Date ....

(over)

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

INCORPORATED

18 EAST FORTY-FIRST STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

Publications on Finance and Economics

America: The World's Banker. By Dr. Max Winkler. American foreign investments, 1920-26. March, 1927. **50c.**

The Ascendancy of the Dollar. By Dr. Max Winkler. A summary of American foreign investments in 1927. March, 1928. **50c.**

The Dollar Abroad. By Dr. Max Winkler. A summary of American foreign investments in 1928. March, 1929. **25c.**

The Investor and League Loans. By Dr. Max Winkler. Review of loans under auspices of the League of Nations. June, 1928. **25c.**

Defaults and Repudiations of Foreign Loans. By Dr. Max Winkler. August, 1928. **25c.**

The Financial Liquidation of the War. War Debts and Reparations: A Statement of the Problem. December 21, 1928. **25c.**

The Balance of International Payments of the United States. Review of 1927 study by U. S. Department of Commerce. August, 1927. **25c.**

The United States and the War Debts. By Lewis Webster Jones. Data on debts and reparations. 1927. **10c.**

Post War Trends in World Economics. Report of League Economic Conference. July, 1927. **25c.**

The United States and Colombian Oil. By J. Fred Rippy. Analysis of oil legislation in Colombia from 1873 to date, and history of the most important concessions. April 3, 1929. **25c.**

American Oil Interests in Mesopotamia. 1926. **25c.**

The Franco-American Tariff Dispute. U. S. tariff policy and application to France. October, 1927. **25c.**

Foreign Investments in Germany. By Dr. Paul Leverkuehn. Analysis of foreign investments in Germany in 1925-26. **10c.**

The Russian Economic Situation. May, 1927. **25c.**

(over)

Date.....

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION
Incorporated
18 East 41st Street, New York.

Enclosed is my remittance of $..... covering annual dues in the class of membership checked below:

☐ Regular Membership ..... $ 5.00

☐ Co-operating Membership 10.00*

☐ Contributing Membership 25.00*

☐ Sustaining Membership 100.00*

☐ Associate Membership at $3 is open only to faculty and undergraduates in schools and colleges and to the clergy.

Notes

*Three dollars of this membership is for a year's subscription to the FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION INFORMATION SERVICE.

One dollar of each membership is for the NEWS BULLETIN.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

(OVER)

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

INCORPORATED

18 East 41st Street, New York

REGULAR PUBLICATIONS

Information Service

Fortnightly

The *Information Service* is published by the Research Staff under the direction of Raymond Leslie Buell. Each issue presents some international problem of timely interest. For the general reader, these studies supplement the daily paper. For the college professor or student, they supply authoritative, unbiased material for lectures, papers, debates and supplementary reading.

Yearly Subscription Rate:

☐ To F.P.A. members.....$3.00

☐ To non-members 5.00

(*Foreign postage* $1.00 *additional*)

News Bulletin

Weekly

The *News Bulletin* is two compact pages of concentrated reading on one or more events of current international interest. It requires a minimum of time and offers a maximum of information to any one interested in international affairs; it is excellent for current events groups.

Yearly Subscription Rate:

To F.P.A. members .....free

☐ To non-members $1.00

(*Foreign postage* 50c *additional*)

Check your order and return to F. P. A.

☐ ***Remittance enclosed*** ☐ ***Send bill***

Name .....

Address .....

(OVER)

and relations with U. S. April, 1929. .....25c.

The United States and Colombian Oil. April, 1929. History of oil leases. .....25c.

The Problem of Porto Rico. Jan., 1929. .....25c.

The Monroe Doctrine and Latin America. Recent interpretations. Dec., 1928. .....25c.

Arbitration on the American Continent. Problems before Washington conference on conciliation and arbitration in Dec. 1928. Oct., 1928. ..25c.

The United States and the Nicaragua Canal. Economic and political arguments for and against proposed canal. May, 1928. .....25c.

The Sixth Pan-American Conference. Part I, April, 1928. Part II, July, 1928. ..... each 25c.

Mexico, the Caribbean and Tacna-Arica. Current relations with the U. S. Jan., 1928. .....25c.

The United States and Latin America. A suggested program. By R. L. Buell. Jan., 1928. .....10c.

Latin American Boundaries. (In preparation)

The American Occupation of Haiti. (In preparation)

EUROPE

[*see also* "Economics and Finance"]

The British Foreign Office. Feb., 1929. .....25c.

The British Elections. Factors influencing General Election of May 30, 1929. May, 1929. .....25c.

Anglo-American Naval Understanding. July, 1929. .....25c.

British and American Naval Bases. (In preparation)

Revision of the Versailles Treaty. German points of view. June, 1929. .....25c.

The Evacuation of the Rhineland. March, 1929. .....25c.

The Hague Conference. (In preparation)

The Problem of an Austro-German Union. The *Anschluss* question. Dec., 1927. .....25c.

October 1, 1929

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

INCORPORATED

EIGHTEEN EAST FORTY-FIRST STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

Please send material checked below to:

Name _____

Address _____

_____

Enclosed is check, money order, currency or equivalent in stamps.

Quantity	*Information Service Reports*

UNITED STATES

[*see also* "General"]

The Administration of the Department of State: Its Organization and Needs. Feb., 1929. **50c.**

Treaty Making Powers of the Senate. Includes list of treaties amended by Senate. Oct., 1928. **25c.**

The Powers of the President as Commander-in-Chief. *Re* protection of nationals abroad. July, 1928. .....**25c.**

International Arbitration and Plans for an American Locarno. Review of America's arbitration record and text of Shotwell Draft Treaty. June, 1927. .....**25c.**

Open Diplomacy and American Foreign Relations. April, 1926. .....**25c.**

LATIN AMERICA

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION
18 East 41st Street, New York, N. Y.

Name .....

Address .....

.....

Check enclosed for $.....covering

.....Members' tickets at $2.00

.....Non-members' tickets at $2.50

for F. P. A. meeting on .....(date)

Date of Application .....

(Please list names of guests on reverse side of this card, indicating which are members)

Names of Guests

Remarks

News Bulletin

Published Weekly by the
FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION
INCORPORATED
National Headquarters
18 EAST 41ST STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.
Subscription, One Dollar a Year

JAMES G. MCDONALD, *Chairman*
ESTHER G. OGDEN, *Secretary*
RAYMOND L. BUELL, *Research Director*

VOL. IX, No. 5 DECEMBER 6, 1929

Entered as second-class matter December 2, 1921, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

COMING F. P. A. MEETINGS

Columbus	Dec. 6	Zionism
St. Paul	" 6	Palestine
Albany	" 7	International Trade Relations
Boston	" 7	Fascist Penetration in the U. S.
Buffalo	" 7	Zionism
New York	" 7	Oriental Affairs
Philadelphia	" 7	War and Peace
Worcester	" 7	Canadian-American Relations

WAR IN CHINA

SECRETARY STIMSON'S reminder to China and Russia of their obligations as signatories of the Kellogg pact has served to focus attention on the critical internal and foreign issues now agitating China. In the civil warfare that has raged for over a month in Honan and Hupeh provinces the balance has swung definitely in favor of the Nanking government, although in the south a serious attack on Canton still threatens. The recent Russian thrust into Manchuria has stimulated the Mukden authorities, with the enforced approval of Nanking, to initiate conversations with Russia for the settlement of the Sino-Russian controversy over the Chinese Eastern Railway on the basis of the Soviet demands.

In the middle of October active warfare in Honan and Hupeh provinces broke out between the revolting forces of Marshal Feng Yü-hsiang and the Nanking government troops led by President Chiang Kai-shek. Despite the denials of Nanking it soon became evident that Yen Hsi-shan, the model governor of Shansi province, was assisting Feng Yü-hsiang, at least to the extent of supplying him with food and munitions of war. Marshal Feng's attack was directed toward the railway junction of Chengchow in north Honan and down the Han River toward Hankow. The crisis occurred around November 20, when the troops of Feng Yü-hsiang penetrated to within 150 miles of Hankow. But at the same time the Nanking forces scored a decisive victory in north Honan by the capture of Loyang. Marshal Feng's advance on Hankow was first checked and then turned back, while in north Honan the Nanking troops continued to push westward toward the Honan-Shensi border. An abrupt armistice followed, hastened by the Russian attack in Manchuria, reports being current that President Chiang Kai-shek had given large sums to Feng Yü-hsiang and Yen Hsi-shan, and had proposed measures of government reform advocated by these leaders. Nevertheless, government forces have since been reported as invading Shensi province, the stronghold of Feng Yü-hsiang. Extravagant claims of success by Nanking are negatived by the reported concessions to Yen and Feng, so that the results of the struggle would seem inconclusive.

The breathing spell has enabled President Chiang Kai-shek to transfer large reinforcements of men and munitions to Canton, which is threatened by a coalition army advancing from Kwangsi province. This force, led by General Chang Fa-kuei, and mobilized at the point where Kwangsi province thrusts a wedge into Kwangtung province, has occupied Wuchow. At present it forms the most active threat to the Nanking government, since the occupation of Canton would supply a base for the formation of an opposition Left Wing government led by Wang Ching-wei.

Moscow-Mukden-Nanking

On November 17 the Russian forces, which had long been engaged in intermittent raids into Manchuria, launched the most serious military effort yet made for regaining the right to an equal share in the control and management of the Chinese Eastern Railway lost to Russia by the *coup d'état* of last July. The attack was delivered with marked success from both the eastern and western ends of the Siberian-Manchurian border. After signs of yielding were shown by Mukden, the Soviet forces were abruptly withdrawn across the border. On the west Hailar was occupied for a time; on the east Muling was reported captured. Chinese soldiers and officers to the number

of 8,300 were reported disarmed and then released. The movement was well organized and efficiently executed; it was supported by cavalry, artillery, tanks and airplanes. No declaration of war was made, however, and the whole affair was evidently regarded by Russia as a punitive expedition designed to give point to its demands regarding the railway. The "demonstration" was timed at a period when Nanking was fully occupied by civil warfare, and the Mukden authorities hastened to comply with the original conditions laid down by Russia for negotiating a settlement of the Chinese Eastern Railway issue. These conditions were restoration of the *status quo ante,* reinstatement of the ousted Russian managers, and release of the arrested Russian nationals. Manchuria's compliance was announced by M. Litvinoff on November 27.

On the Russian side M. Simanovski was named as plenipotentiary to meet a representative of Chang Hsüeh-liang, the Manchurian governor, at Khabarovsk to arrange for a conference to settle the entire affair. A protocol settling the controversy was finally signed on December 3 at Nikolsk-Ussuriisk.

Before the protocol was signed, Nanking's lack of accord with Mukden was most patent in its attempt on November 25 to reopen negotiations with Russia on its own account—an attempt which M. Litvinoff rejected as "superfluous" since the Mukden authorities had already agreed to the Soviet terms for a peaceful settlement. Nanking's appeal to the foreign powers on November 26 for intervention against Russia likewise proved unavailing, so that the Nanking authorities have now reluctantly authorized Mukden to proceed with the negotiations already instituted. Nanking denied that the Russian demands had been accepted, however, and apparently reserved the right to act as final authority on the Chinese side.

The U. S. Invokes the Kellogg Pact

On November 28, under instructions from Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson, the American diplomatic representatives in London, Paris, Tokio, Berlin and Rome took up the possibility of some form of concerted action to avert further hostilities between China and Russia. Following careful exchanges of opinion with these five governments, Secretary Stimson announced on December 2 that he had dispatched a note direct to China and through France to Russia. It recalls that on July 18 the attention of China and Russia had been called to their obligations as signatories of the Kellogg pact, and that these nations had then disclaimed any intention of making war unless attacked. The present note goes farther in warning China and Russia that their respect "in the good opinion of the world will necessarily in great measure depend upon the way in which they carry out these most sacred promises." Great Britain and France have joined the United States in this admonition, Germany and Italy are expected to follow, while Japan is holding aloof. The United States has also instructed its representatives accredited to the other forty-seven nations signatory to the Kellogg pact to communicate similar statements to Moscow and Nanking.

The immediate tension in Manchuria has been eased by the withdrawal of the Soviet forces following the concessions by Mukden, and by the negotiations at present in progress between Mukden and Moscow. It would therefore seem that Secretary Stimson's note, especially in view of the appeal for similar action, directed to all the pact signatories, was primarily an attempt to strengthen the pact rather than to terminate the Sino-Russian controversy. T. A. B.

The World's Opium Quota

THE excess manufacture of drugs derived from opium and coca leaves is at last to be curbed. The League Assembly in September 1929 accepted the principle that the manufacture of habit-forming drugs is hereafter to be based upon the medical and scientific needs of the world. A conference of an equal number of manufacturing and consuming countries is to be called to determine plans by which this principle may be applied. This conference will probably be held in the autumn of 1930. Since the United States is, with China, one of the greatest sufferers from smuggled drugs, she is deeply interested in its success.

For the first time a world quota of an article of commerce is to be determined, and a method is to be worked out by which this world quota is to be apportioned among manufacturers. The large quantities of drugs available for the illicit traffic will then no longer exist. The plan has wide implications for students of economics, who should watch developments, for if a plan is evolved which can bear the weight of actual operation, the same principle might be applied to essential raw materials in the international field. H. H. M.

The Editors alone are responsible for such opinions as they may express in the News Bulletin.

F. P. A. Membership, Five Dollars a Year

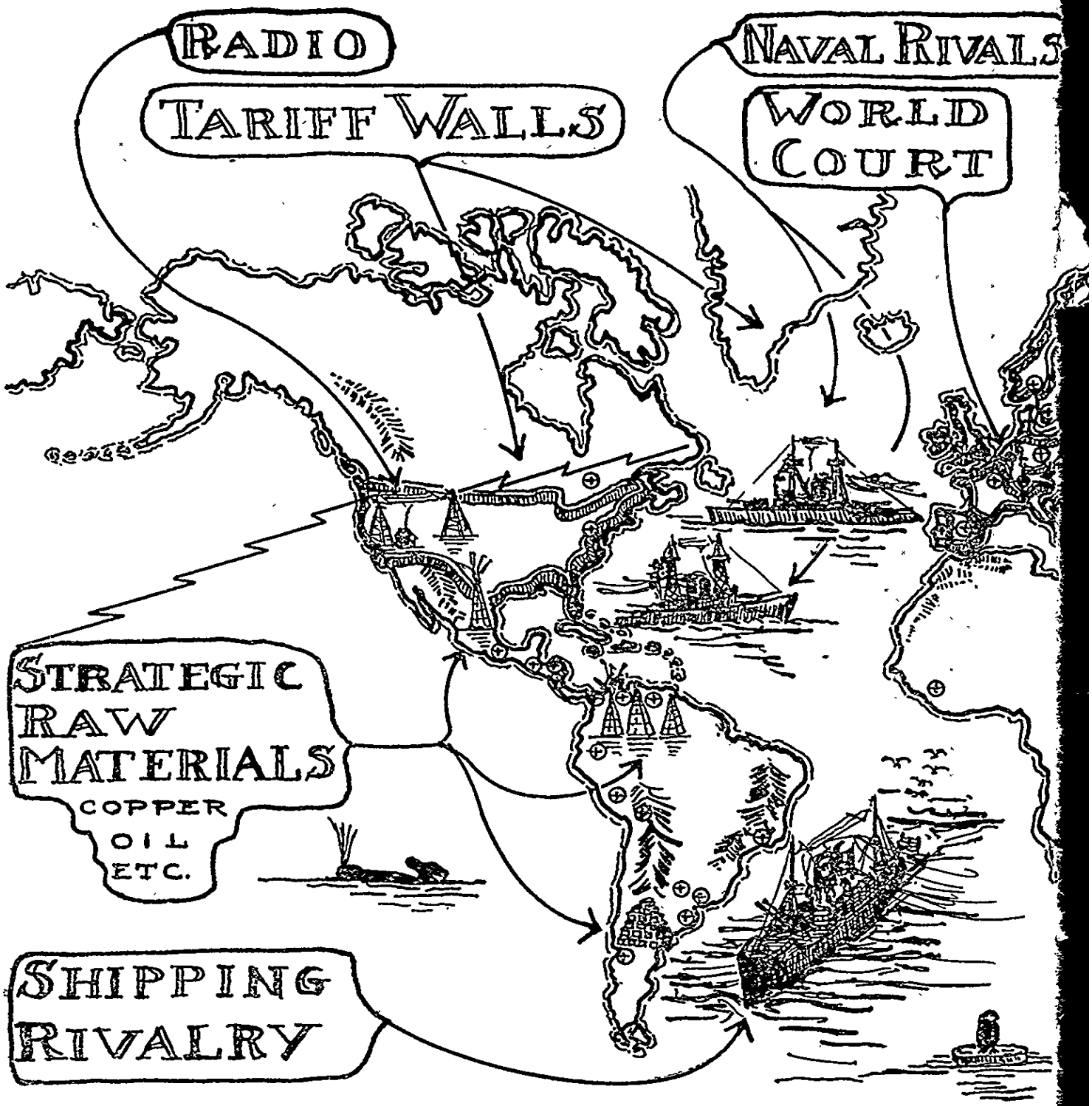
THE FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

presents

1929 - 1930

61-7802-X13

~~62-8444-14~~



WORLD • PROBLEMS

THE SPEAKERS' BUREAU
of the
FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION
INCORPORATED

18 East 41st Street, New York

THE Speakers' Bureau of the Foreign Policy Association offers this booklet of subjects and speakers on international political and economic questions for the use of organizations interested in including such subjects in their year's program. It lists subjects of current interest and importance.

An alphabetical list of speakers on foreign affairs follows at the end of the booklet. It includes both men and women, foreign and American, liberal, middle of the road, and conservative. The only characteristic common to them all is ability to speak and training in a particular field. The subjects in which they are interested are in each case listed below their names, and are in many cases illustrated in the main part of the booklet by statements of their views. These statements express the personal opinions of individuals qualified through study or practical experience to speak, and in no way represent the views of the Association. Through the activities of its Speakers' Bureau, as well as through its research publications, the Foreign Policy Association aims not to promote policies but to create a greater interest and knowledge throughout the country regarding foreign affairs.

The services of the Bureau in suggesting subjects or securing speakers on international questions are available to all organizations. Suggestions for speakers on subjects not included in the booklet will be sent at the request of any organization.

WHAT AFTER THE KELLOGG PACT?

JOSEPH P. CHAMBERLAIN

"The Kellogg Pact expresses the modern notion that war between any two countries is a concern of all countries. It must be implemented by measures which are inspired by this same spirit."

HAMILTON FISH, JR.

"The Kellogg Pact outlawed war. The next step is to prohibit the exportation of private arms and munitions to belligerent nations except with the consent of Congress. Otherwise, the belligerent nation with the biggest navy will control our entire munition exports."

STANLEY HIGH

"The Kellogg-Briand Pact is an international Declaration of Independence from the tyranny of war. The treaty puts the United States again in the running internationally. Our national honor, now, is staked not on our readiness to go to war, but on our determination to maintain peace."

PAUL U. KELLOGG

"Outlawry of war is buttressed by the International Joint Commission, set up by the United States and Canada. It is a scheme essentially of the future, and one therefore by which we may hope to complement the 'blazing ubiquities' of the Kellogg Pact. Why not a similar Joint Commission with Mexico?"

CHARLES PERGLER

"Peace cannot be secured by incantation! The will to peace, a desire to solve controversial problems by agreement and cooperation—all this is of course a fundamental necessity if we are to accomplish anything. It must lead, however, to what perhaps may be called positive and constructive international legislation."

CHESTER H. ROWELL

"The Pact is a beginning. It commits the world to a principle, and us to the world. Are we willing to risk the next step?"

ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL

"The causes of the present misunderstanding between England and the United States are partly psychological. I believe this misunderstanding would disappear if the concrete differences between the two countries were removed. These differences are (1) the naval question, (2) sea law, (3) the Allied debt, (4) commercial rivalry. The most important of these issues, immediately at least, is the naval issue."

WILLIAM A. ORTON

"England does not know in any action she may be called on to undertake by the League or the Locarno treaties in the interests of world peace, what the policy of the United States will be. Even the Briand-Kellogg Pact does not help much. Let England offer to accept the American view of Maritime Law for wars that are not League wars; then with that offer in hand, let her ask the United States to accept England's practice for wars that are League wars. Then, and not till then, will there be a genuine chance of naval disarmament."

LINDSAY ROGERS

"The politicians, not conflicting interests or peoples, are responsible for most of the Anglo-American misunderstanding that exists."

NICHOLAS ROOSEVELT

"America has without knowing it taken over England's position in the world. England is fighting desperately to hold what she has."

NORMAN THOMAS

"There is no inevitability of either war or peace between Great Britain and the United States. The attempt to obtain peace on the basis of a joint Anglo-American imperialism over the rest of the world is very dangerous. Only the solution of Anglo-American questions in a spirit of internationalism which does not rest upon the exploitation of a working class or of weaker nations can secure worth while peace for mankind."

CHARLES K. WEBSTER

"It is to the interest of Britain to endeavor to prepare the world for the political and economic leadership of the United States."

NAVAL DISARMAMENT

ALEXIS DE BOER

"Solemn promises were made in the Peace Treaties to comply with the American principle of disarmament, but the real facts are that disarmament has not progressed during the twelve years of peace and the so-called peace of today needs more military and police to enforce it than did the states of Europe before the war. It is my firm conviction that the real seed of war lies in the fact that the world is divided into two parts, the larger being armed to the teeth, and the smaller being absolutely deprived of the forces needed for their national self-defense."

HAMILTON FISH, JR.

"Naval competition between Great Britain, Japan and the United States is the height of folly and tends to create suspicion, distrust and hostility, and eventually war."

CHARLES L. HUSSEY

"In an armed world the United States must provide armament commensurate with her wealth and other world-wide interests. Reduction of armament can only take place with improved world conditions."

RAYMOND T. RICH

"The controversy regarding 'tons and guns' is filled with complicated figures which virtually no layman can readily comprehend, much less remember. Yet it is the layman who pays the cost, and with whom, ultimately, the solution of the controversy rests. Fortunately, therefore, the essence of the problem is not in the realm of statistics but in the choice of broad public policies which are much more clearly distinguishable by laymen than by technicians."

NICHOLAS ROOSEVELT

"The principle of naval limitation should be extended to all classes of ships. Parity can only be obtained by building up to England's strength. The crux of the naval problem is the rights of neutrals."

NORMAN THOMAS

"Naval disarmament will not of itself guarantee peace, but without general naval disarmament it will be a miracle if we have peace."

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

ALEXIS DE BOER

"The Minority Treaties were intended to give minorities protection and a guarantee against any unjust treatment or oppression; but unfortunately the obligation of the states towards their minorities was placed under the jurisdiction of a political body, the Council of the League of Nations, instead of under the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice."

RAYMOND L. BUELL

"There is no doubt but that as a result of the oil settlement with Mexico, the Nicaragua election, President Hoover's Latin-American trip, the Pan-American Arbitration Conference, and the cooperation between the United States and the League in the Bolivia-Paraguay dispute, together with the Senate's interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, the relations between the United States and Latin-America as well as the League have greatly improved."

PARKER T. MOON

"The significant thing about the League is the way in which it has survived its obituaries."

CHARLES PERGLER

"There are today in force numerous treaties for the protection of minorities, and the League of Nations has certain jurisdiction in the matter. Those having legitimate grievances may turn with confidence to the League."

CHARLES K. WEBSTER

"In ten years of experiment we have learned more about international cooperation than all of the publicists, professors and prophets have been able to teach us in the last three hundred years."

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR OFFICE

CHARLES HODGES

"The world-wide cooperation of nations in the progressive advancement of the economic standards of peoples is a vital problem of enduring peace. The bringing together of spokesmen of the state, capital, and labor—accomplished through the International Labor Office—marks a new step forward in the economic organization of the force of international understanding."

THE WORLD COURT

ALICE DRAPER CARTER

"One of the proved implements for maintaining world peace is the World Court. The United States had a large part in its organization. Why are we still on the outside? How can we get in?"

PHILIP C. JESSUP

"The United States should participate fully in the task of preserving international peace by entering the World Court and by cooperating in similar ways with other nations of the world. The Pact of Paris should be only one step in an intelligent and courageous foreign policy."

JAMES G. McDONALD

"Dionizo Anzilotti, President of the Court, said: 'A distinguished American jurist, Elihu Root, is a spiritual father of the Permanent Court of International Jurists.' How long will the United States be the only great power other than Russia outside the Court?"

JOSEPHINE SCHAIN

"Entrance into the World Court would be one bit of concrete evidence of our faith in international institutions as possible substitutes for war machinery."

CHARLES K. WEBSTER

"In order to abolish war we must have something which can do in the future what war has done in the past—i.e. make and enforce the great decisions between the peoples."

THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND LATIN AMERICA

RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL

"In signing the arbitration and conciliation agreements at the Pan-American Arbitration Conference last January, the United States has, to a certain extent, converted the Monroe Doctrine from a unilateral to an inter-American understanding."

WILLIAM P. CRESSON

"While I consider that the Monroe Message should be treated as a doctrine rather than a dogma and might therefore be capable of modification to meet the changing spirit of the time, I am equally convinced that its underlying principles are of continuing importance and meet with the approval of the majority of the citizens of the United States."

H. W. DODDS

"I am convinced that the Monroe Doctrine as applied to Central America works to the advantage of the five republics and to the peace of the world. They are backward states seeking foreign capital for their development. Were they thrown open to unrestricted exploitation supported by the armed forces of governments whose nationals have interest therein, they would readily become another arena of friction such as Africa and the Balkans have been in the past."

CHARLES L. HUSSEY

"Under the Monroe Doctrine the Western Hemisphere has enjoyed security and prosperity—the envy of the rest of the world."

PARKER T. MOON

"The United States has conferred real benefits upon the small republics of Central America and the Caribbean, but the methods that have been employed have evoked opposition to the Monroe Doctrine and fear of 'Yankee imperialism'."

NORMAN THOMAS

"All that ever was vital in the Monroe Doctrine should today rest upon sanction of Pan-American agreements and not upon the irresponsible hegemony of the United States and the Western Hemisphere. In its more modern forms the Monroe Doctrine is a more likely source of strife than of peace."

WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING

"If the State Department did not interfere with the legislative counter-measures attempted by Latin-American nations, they would often prove effective. Rather than acting as attorney merely for individuals and corporations that have expatriated their capital, our State Department should act as attorney for the small nations placed by circumstances under our power."

GEORGE T. WEITZEL

"That geographical propinquity creates special political relations, is a rule of universal recognition, and therefore the Monroe Doctrine has its most important application in Central America. Not only must the United States prevent European control of any of these small republics, but also it should assist in the maintenance of peace and order so as to remove any pretext for foreign interference, and should lend its encouragement to the strengthening of constitutional government."

UNITED STATES PROBLEMS IN THE CARIBBEAN

RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL

"The Mandate System has imposed the *open door* upon a large part of the colonial world and is bringing about an improvement in native administration. Unfortunately, the United States lags behind in this development, and follows in Porto Rico and the Philippines the *closed door* policy in trade."

H. W. DODDS

"We can permit no foreign government to interfere in Central America and must therefore, ourselves, look after the security and the property of their nationals endangered by disorder and revolution. The United States is obligated to do all it properly can to prevent domestic disorder and to see that the Central American republics and particularly the more backward of them fulfill their obligations as states claiming membership in the society of nations."

PAUL DOUGLAS

"American policy in the Caribbean has largely been dictated by the desire to protect the approaches to the Canal. If the Panama Canal, the Suez Canal, Straits of Singapore and Gibraltar could be internationalized, the pressure of Imperialism to protect these strategic trade routes by acquiring contiguous territory would be lessened and greater self-government could be given to the inhabitants of adjoining and neighboring countries."

IN CENTRAL AMERICA

H. W. DODDS

"No living person with any sense of responsibility for our government's relation to Nicaragua can say what our future policy with respect to supervised elections should be. The United States is interested not in particular candidates but in Nicaragua's finding some method of selecting presidents and changing government by peaceful means. Other Central American governments have been able to do so, and there is no logical reason why Nicaragua cannot attain to the same degree of maturity without recurrent supervision by the United States."

GEORGE T. WEITZEL

"If self-defense be the first duty of a government, then the most important foreign policy of the United States is concerned with Nicaragua, because that country affords the only remaining practical canal route and also occupies a vitally strategic position on the lines of communication between our eastern and western shores."

HAITI

H. P. DAVIS

"We have accomplished highly commendable betterments in Haiti, not the least of which has been the liberation of the peasants from a vicious system of mass exploitation. But we have failed to materially assist the Haitian people in the development of their resources, and more important, in instituting constructive steps towards the prime object of the Treaty—the instruction of the people in self-rule, and the creation of a stable government in Haiti by Haitians."

PAUL DOUGLAS

"The United States should (1) replace the present military High Commissioner by a civilian; (2) permit congressional elections in Haiti at an early date; (3) allow the Haitian Congress to draw up a new constitution and elect a President; (4) then withdraw our military forces. We should hasten our withdrawal as rapidly as possible and not insist upon staying until 1936."

RAYFORD W. LOGAN

"I am willing to concede that the American occupation in Haiti has built some roads and bridges, opened a few schools for vocational training; that the Medical Corps has lived up to the highest traditions of Reed and Goethals. But her promise to instruct the natives in self-government, the Occupation has not kept. In 1917 we deprived them of their legislature and have not allowed them to participate in their own government since that time. If we intend to live up to the terms of the Treaty that we imposed, we should withdraw in eight years. And if we do withdraw, our failure to train the Haitians in self-government will more than offset whatever material good has been accomplished."

AFRICA

RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL

"Africa is the only new continent in the world, and its future is uncertain. The next twenty-five years may determine whether this continent is to become the center of a great war between the whites and blacks or whether it is to become the center of a great experiment in inter-racial cooperation and in the social control of industry."

ALAIN LOCKE

"We now are witnessing the beginning of an elimination struggle between two absolutely incompatible systems of control and government, with a somewhat favorable drift toward a general revision of colonial attitude and policy."

MEXICO

FRANK TANNENBAUM

"On the social side the Mexican Revolution involves the regeneration of a race that seemed to be passing away; on the political the transfer of power from feudal land-owners to Indian peasants and city laborers; on the economic the attempt to garner the fruits of industrialism while escaping its evil by-products; and on the international, an effort to control foreign investments so that they might benefit both the foreign investor as well as the Mexican people."

GUY STEVENS

"It was stated when our policy was first announced that it is the desire of the United States to do away with the habit of changing government in Mexico by revolution. For us to say to Mexicans that, because we do not like revolutions, they shall abolish them, seems a little absurd."

EDGAR TURLINGTON

"By our new policy of giving active support to the government that happens to be in power in Mexico, Americans and American property in the territory occupied by insurgents are made liable to measures of reprisal for which there may be no remedy except in appeals to the liberality of Congress."

EUROPE

ALEXIS DE BOER

"The Peace Treaties have not made peace. The American ideals as expressed by the famous fourteen points—the charter of a better future for mankind—were entirely disregarded in the drafting of the Treaties, and the injustice done by them must be eliminated by a revision of the Treaties in the spirit of fairness and conciliation, before world peace can be insured."

CHARLES PERGLER

"It was inevitable that certain states should include minorities of a different national origin. Protection of minorities is an important problem, but it cannot be solved by splitting up the world indefinitely or following every irregularity of ethnographic distribution."

PERCY WINNER

"Fascism was made by the necessity of events. The World War shook the faith of the Latin peoples in the excellence and efficacy of a form of polity borrowed from essentially Anglo-Saxon sources, and has given them the courage to turn to their own historical precedents and temperamental tendencies for a form of government, indigenous and workable."

RUSSIA

PAUL DOUGLAS

"Absolute production in Russia is still low, but relative improvement has been made; thus far the revolution has paid dividends to the city workers, and in the predictable future the solidity of the Russian Government is assured."

STANLEY HIGH

"Communism is fundamentally a religion, the program of the Third International is missionary in its operation. I have followed the trail of those who propagate its gospel from the Union of South Africa, across India, through a revolution in Java and a more serious revolt in China. Their program calls for three things: the creation of class hate, the organization of that hate into an offensive machine, and, finally, the dedication of that machine to violence. It is my further contention that our present policy of non-recognition should be continued until the fundamental purposes of the Third International are permanently altered."

RAYMOND T. RICH

"Russia represents the most persistent 'X' in the equation of current diplomacy. In Tokyo, Peking, Washington, London, Paris, Berlin and Geneva I have heard repeatedly, 'And Russia?' What are the hopes and fears of Russia in these great capitals? By projecting light upon Russia from many angles, we may perhaps procure a picture most reasonably free from distorting shadows."

CHESTER H. ROWELL

"The first step toward understanding Bolshevism is to forget all you know about the motives which actuate your sort of people in America. The Bolshevist leaders preach doctrinaire Marxism, and practice practical politics."

WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING

"The Soviet Government is not recognized because it continues to display open hostility to this country and refuses in practice to recognize international obligations, that is, the inviolability of treaties and the authority of international law. As President Coolidge declared, its 'active spirit of enmity' must also cease before negotiations looking towards recognition can be entered into."

SAVEL ZIMAND

"Whether we approve or disapprove of the Russian régime, the developments there are of vital importance to us. The United States should grant recognition."

THE RELATION OF EAST TO WEST

ALICE DRAPER CARTER

"It is of fundamental importance to progress that racial differences between the East and the West should be integrated and made to enrich world civilization."

STANLEY HIGH

"The West's appreciation of the East does not involve an abandonment of appreciation for the civilization of the West. Three elements in western civilization of which the Orient stands in desperate need are our material civilization, our ideal of the inestimable worth of the average individual, and the political idealism of democratic government."

CHARLES HODGES

"The material power of the West respects neither peoples nor civilizations unable to withstand its assault. The Orient can only defend itself from the Occident by westernization, which is the open door to the coming cosmopolitan world civilization."

AMEEN RIHANI

"The East and the West seldom meet on the surface, and when they do they clash. The West thinks, the East dreams; the West plays, the East broods; the West dances, the East prays."

THE NEAR EAST

WILLIAM P. CRESSON

"I believe that the cultural influence of our American missionary schools, and the need for technical assistance of a kind best furnished by the American mechanical genius, will eventually lead to a policy of cooperation with Turkey, Persia and other mid-oriental states."

AMEEN RIHANI

"Of all the legacies of tyranny in the modern history of nations, nothing is more bedevilled with abuse and cankered with corruption than the legacy bequeathed by the Turkish Empire to the Allies."

JOSEPHINE SCHAIN

"Widespread changes are taking place in every phase of life in the Near East. This has a direct bearing upon international affairs due to the extent to which western powers have become involved in most of the countries in western Asia. Oil, railroads, schools, and mandates affect England, Italy and France as well as Syria, Iraq and Persia."

INDIA

SAVEL ZIMAND

"India should in the near future receive greater political responsibilities. By such a policy England can avoid a hundred times more trouble than she had with Ireland."

THE FAR EAST

STANLEY HIGH

"The present Nationalist government is not a factional authority. It represents, more fully than any other in all China's history, the will of the people."

CHARLES HODGES

"Unless the course of world politics changes, the Far East promises to be the center of a new struggle for dominion which will try all institutions of peace to the utmost."

WILLIAM HUNG

"Chinese nationalism wants a real *open door* policy in China's foreign relations—equity and square dealing in commerce, equality of opportunity."

JAMES G. McDONALD

"Most of us are so European-minded that we are blind to the fact that the Far East presents the world's gravest problems and most fruitful opportunities."

YUTAKA MINAKUCHI

"Japan is willing that China shall exercise her sovereign prerogative over Manchuria in due time. I feel, however, that the time for Japan's evacuation has not yet arrived. In the first place, Japan's national safety depends upon 'who controls Manchuria'; and in the second place the central government of China must prove its capacity for self-development by putting its internal affairs in order."

NICHOLAS ROOSEVELT

"It is difficult to create a modern nation overnight out of medieval China. No quick reforms can be expected.

"America's task in the Philippine Islands is not yet finished. Too much emphasis in the past has been placed on politics and too little on economics."

CHESTER H. ROWELL

"It is not too much to say that the choice China is now making, whether to turn toward America or Russia, will shift the center of gravity of the world. There are only three great continental domains on earth, and there is nowhere to place a fourth. These three are Russia, China and America. We are the front rank of one world order and the Bolshevists claim to be the advance guard of another. Both are competing for China."

CHARLES K. WEBSTER

"The main issues of peace and war in the twentieth century lie in the Far East, but they cannot be isolated from other world problems. Europe and America meet in Asia."

UNITED STATES COMMERCIAL POLICY

RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL

"The commercial foreign policy of the United States has three main characteristics: first, a high protective tariff which is embittering our relations with Canada, France and Argentina; second, the policy of promoting foreign trade and subsidizing a merchant marine; third, the policy of protecting American interests abroad, even by the use of arms."

PAUL H. DOUGLAS

"The protective tariff system directly injures the manufacturers and farmers of the Middle West. The best type of agricultural relief is not in the McNary-Haugen plan but in a lowering of the tariff."

ARTHUR L. FAUBEL

"Nothing has been added to the theory of free trade since Smith's 'Wealth of Nations' in 1776. The fault with the free traders lies not in their logic but in their assumptions."

CHARLES HODGES

"We live in an age of economic nationalism, as yet but moderately tempered by international cooperation along lines which make possible world-wide reduction of tariff barriers. No nation can, through its domestic politics, lower its tariff without regard for the international situation; but all nations might well move in the direction of freer trade through common agreement."

LEWIS WEBSTER JONES

"Free trade may be as much the expression of economic nationalism as a protective tariff."

JULIUS KLEIN

"Each member of our business community must regard himself as an individual 'good-will ambassador.' The new opportunities which are beckoning to us now must be developed with infinite pains and just as far as possible with first-hand analysis, not by underlings or student apprentices, but by responsible executives."

JAMES G. McDONALD

"President Hoover understands better than any other administrative head of a great power the significance of international trade. He more than any other statesman can if he will, lead the way towards an international agreement on a set of standards for government promotion of foreign trade and thus he would remove one of the gravest potential causes of international friction."

WILLIAM A. ORTON

"The present Republican tariff is not only an anomaly for a great creditor nation; it is probably the largest single obstacle to world recovery."

NORMAN THOMAS

"High tariffs as an expression of nationalism in economics are inconsistent with the prosperity of the modern world and the good will of nations upon which a true peace must rest."

WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING

" 'Economic imperialism' as President Hoover says, 'is not the aim of the American people and contradicts our ideals and form of government.' But it is not proving true, as Mr. Hoover contends, that capital exported and used for productive purposes is bringing the borrowing nation to a condition where it can be repaid. So far the borrowing countries have been traveling towards increasing economic dependence and ownership and control of their industries by foreign capital."

DEBTS AND REPARATIONS

CHARLES HODGES

"From the standpoint of the United States, the Allied obligations have been scaled down from 19 to 75 per cent of their legal liability and the gross sum due us has been cut almost in half; no further reduction should be made unless the peace of the world directly benefits from an equivalent sacrifice on the part of debtors in the direction of disarmament."

LEWIS WEBSTER JONES

"It is an extraordinary economic doctrine which tells us that we lose by receiving wealth. If it is bad economics to receive payment on the war debts, why is it not also bad economics to receive interest payments on our private investments abroad? There are much better reasons for advocating cancellation than this one."

WILLIAM A. ORTON

"If America is asked to cooperate in any venture that looks as if it might at any time, anywhere, involve any responsibility for anything, America promptly becomes unofficial. But when it comes to American claims on Germany or the Allies, or her preposterous demand for most-favored-nation treatment from everybody, America is almost aggressively official. The policy may pay for the moment, but it is liable to have awkward economic and political consequences in the long run."

CHESTER H. ROWELL

"The report of the Dawes commission was the first adult utterance in post-war Europe. Before that they had been talking like children. Just how grown-up are the present efforts to complete that plan?"

THE PRESS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

CHARLES HODGES

"The ultimate sanction of peace is the public opinion of the nations. The press of the world, notwithstanding jingo journalism, is the most potent force today in the development of popular realization that peace rests upon mutual understanding."

MOSES KOENIGSBERG

"The newspaper serves its public, either faithfully or falsely. There is only one master to whom such faithfulness is due or by whom such perfidy may be punished. It follows that the responsibility of the press in international affairs is identical with its responsibility in all other matters."

NICHOLAS ROOSEVELT

"Editors must meet the difficulties of gathering foreign news and are responsible for presenting it."

PROTECTION OF AMERICAN INTERESTS ABROAD

RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL

"In applying force to protect our interests in China, the United States has waited until danger has been imminent, and has usually cooperated with other powers. In the Caribbean the United States has extended protection to foreign lives and property even when they have not been immediately endangered; it has frequently taken sides in civil war; it has claimed the sole right to use force in this area."

H. W. DODDS

"I believe the protection of American lives is a much more important consideration than the protection of American investments. The amount of pressure which the State Department is under when an American loses his life in a Central American disturbance is of a much more serious nature than when property alone is destroyed."

LEWIS WEBSTER JONES

"It is paradoxical for the United States to refuse protection to the lives and property of its nationals while it considers itself bound under the Monroe Doctrine to assume this obligation for foreign governments."

NORMAN THOMAS

"A minimum demand that the people of the United States have a right to make is that under no circumstances shall their money or the lives of their sons and brothers be used to collect private debts abroad."

EDGAR TURLINGTON

"In the present state of international organization and of international law, diplomatic interposition in behalf of American investors abroad is often a valuable aid in the maintenance of good relations between the United States and foreign countries as well as a necessary means for the prevention of injustice."

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

LEWIS WEBSTER JONES

"The work of the Economic Section of the League of Nations in attempting to establish standards of fair play in commercial competition is the most hopeful effort for minimizing the dangers of lawless commercial rivalry."

PAUL U. KELLOGG

"We must get down beneath the political structures of international relations to the economic fires that mold and bend them. Manchester, Essen and Pittsburgh are type cities, which stand in turn for democracy, security and initiative."

WILLIAM A. ORTON

"Economic nationalism in these days of international combines is a policy both hazardous and shortsighted. The right way is to seek participation, together with some measure of public control."

NORMAN THOMAS

"In our interdependent world there is no just solution of the struggle for raw materials which does not presuppose some kind of allocation of them."

WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING

"The Labor Movement does not believe that peace, justice or effective cooperation can be secured or the real causes of war removed except as nations—democratically governed—take international economic relations out of the hands of private interests, whether so-called international bankers or nationalistic corporations and business groups."

WORLD TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

CHARLES HODGES

"Communications are the nerves of our business civilization and the listening posts of diplomacy. The national control of radio, cables, and telegraphic communications is vital to a world power in the absence of an effective international régime which guarantees to all equal access to the channels of material prosperity and world opinion."

HENRY G. HOTCHKISS

"Viewed either from the standpoint of war or from the standpoint of peace, the United States must necessarily be interested in questions of air power. The time has come when it can no longer maintain its aloofness in this regard and when it seems fitting to consider what other nations have done, and to examine any indications of policies that the United States may adopt."

SPEAKERS' INDEX

ALEXIS DE BOER

Educated at Kolozsvar, Vienna, and Berlin Universities; appointed professor of Administrative Law and Public Finance, University of Kolozsvar, 1908; went to Holland and Great Britain, 1919; Justice, Supreme Court of Administration of Hungary; Hungarian representative before the Tripartite Claims Commission (U. S., Austria and Hungary) at Washington.

Subjects: MINORITIES IN EUROPE TODAY
SHOULD THE PEACE TREATIES BE REVISED?
DISARMAMENT

RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL

Ph.D. Princeton, 1922; assistant professor of Government, Harvard, 1922-27; travelled through Africa, 1925-26; attended Pan-American Conference, Havana, and studied conditions in West Indies, 1928; director, Research Department, Foreign Policy Association since 1927; author: *International Relations; Washington Conference; The Native Problem in Africa; Japanese Immigration.* Available for a limited number of engagements only.

Subjects

U. S. COMMERCIAL POLICY
U. S. PROBLEMS IN THE CARIBBEAN
ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS
AFRICA
PROTECTION OF AMERICAN INTERESTS ABROAD

ALICE DRAPER CARTER
(Mrs. E. C. Carter)

B.A. Barnard College, 1905; traveled extensively in the Far East; lived in Europe, and in India, 1911-16; member, National Board, Y.W.C.A.; New York State chairman for International Cooperation of the League of Women Voters; will attend Institute of Pacific Relations, Kyoto, Japan, summer 1929. Available after January, 1930.

Subjects

EASTERN AND WESTERN CIVILIZATION
THE WORLD COURT AND THE MULTILATERAL TREATY

JOSEPH P. CHAMBERLAIN

Educated, Universities of Paris, Berlin, Leipzig; professor of Public Law, Columbia; director, Legislative Drafting Research Fund; member, Advisory Committee, International Missionary Council; member, Committee on Slavery and Forced Labor, International Labor Office; has monthly column in *American Bar Association Journal;* chairman, Committee on Noteworthy Changes in Statute Law, American Bar Association.

Subjects: INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS
THE KELLOGG PACT
MEXICO

WILLIAM P. CRESSON

Ph.D. Columbia; secretary, American Legation, Peru, 1909-12, Ecuador, 1913-14, Panama, 1914-15, Portugal, 1917; secretary, American Embassy, London, 1912-13, Petrograd, 1915-17; lecturer, Diplomatic History, Georgetown University, 1924-27; Fletcher professor, International Law and Diplomacy, Tufts College, 1927-29; secretary, Sixth Pan-American Conference, Havana, 1928; author: *Persia—The Awakening East; The Cossacks—Their History and Country; The Holy Alliance —The European Background of the Monroe Doctrine.*

Subjects

THE U. S. AND THE MIDDLE EAST
THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND PAN-AMERICANISM

H. P. DAVIS

A pioneer in the silver and gold districts of Northern Ontario, 1906-13; national councillor, Chamber of Commerce, U. S.; in Haiti, 1915-28, special correspondent, Associated Press, two years, organizer and manager, American Chamber of Commerce; owns most complete collection of Haitiania in the Republic; author: *Black Democracy; The Davis Handbook of the Cobalt Silver District.*

Subject: HAITI

H. W. DODDS

Electoral adviser of Nicaragua, 1922-1924; drafted new election law and supervised registration for presidential election of 1924; chief adviser to president of National Board of Elections in the Nicaraguan presidential election of 1928; editor, *National Municipal Review* since 1920; professor of Politics, Princeton. Usually available for eastern engagements; available in the west November, 1929, and April, 1930.

Subject

OUR CARIBBEAN AND CENTRAL AMERICAN POLICIES

PAUL H. DOUGLAS

Professor of Industrial Relations, University of Chicago since 1925; headed unofficial commission to Haiti, 1926; technical adviser to unofficial trade union delegation to Russia, 1927; author: *Wages and the Family; American Apprenticeship and Industrial Education;* co-author: *The Worker in Modern Economic Society.*

Subjects: HAITI
RUSSIA
U. S. COMMERCIAL POLICY

ARTHUR L. FAUBEL

B.C.S., B.S. New York University, M.A. Princeton, M.A., Ph.D. Columbia; assistant chief economist 1922-23, special porcelain investigator, U. S. and Europe, 1926, U. S. Tariff Commission; associate professor of Economics, New York University; secretary, American Tariff League.

Subject: U. S. COMMERCIAL POLICY

HAMILTON FISH JR.

A.B. Harvard; served New York State Assembly, 1914-16; captain, A.E.F.; subsequently major, 4th division, Army of Occupation; elected to fill vacancy and re-elected to 67th, 68th, 70th and 71st Congresses; member, Foreign Affairs Committee, House of Representatives.

Subjects: LIMITATION OF NAVAL ARMAMENT
WHAT NEXT AFTER THE KELLOGG PACT?
THE BURTON-FISH RESOLUTION

STANLEY HIGH

A.B., D.Litt. Nebraska Wesleyan University, S.T.B. Boston University School of Theology; lieutenant, Aviation Service in World War; member, Reconstruction Committee, Europe, 1919; member, Methodist Mission to China, 1919-20; correspondent, *Christian Science Monitor* in Europe, 1922, in Russia, 1924; around the world, 1926-27; editor, *Christian Herald;* author: *China's Place in the Sun; Europe Turns the Corner; The Revolt of Youth; The Awakening World.*

Subjects: WESTERN AND EASTERN CIVILIZATION
THE BRITISH EMPIRE: FOR GOOD OR FOR ILL
RUSSIA'S WORLD GAME
IF WE WOULD OUTLAW WAR
SHOULD THE PHILIPPINES GO FREE?
WHAT'S UP IN CHINA?

CHARLES HODGES

Formerly on faculties, Stanford University and Washington State College; attached to U. S. Shipping Board, 1918-19; adviser to the South China Government Mission to U. S., 1922-24; member, American Committee, League of Nations, Geneva, 1927; assistant director, Division of Oriental Commerce and Politics since 1921, professor of Politics since 1926, New York University; contributing editor, *The Living Age,* since 1928; author: *The Background of International Relations.*

Subjects: THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR OFFICE
DEBTS
TARIFFS
THE FAR EAST
RAW MATERIALS
PUBLIC OPINION
COMMUNICATIONS

HENRY G. HOTCHKISS

A.B. Williams, LL.B. Columbia Law School; member, New York Bar; member, firm of Cuthell, Hotchkiss & Mills, counsels for Curtiss Aeroplane & Motor Co., Inc.; National Air Transport, Inc.; associate editor, *The United States Aviation Reports;* author: *A Treatise on Aviation Law.*

Subject: INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF AVIATION

WILLIAM HUNG

Born Fukien, China, 1893; B.A. Ohio Wesleyan University, M.A. Columbia, B.D. Union Theological Seminary; professor of History, and lately dean of Yenching University; adviser, National Museum of History, Peking; spending sabbatical year at Harvard lecturing on Chinese history.

Subject: CHINA

CHARLES L. HUSSEY

Graduated U. S. Naval Academy, 1892; commissioned 1894, promoted through grades to rear admiral, 1926; commanded expedition to Abyssinia, 1903; naval attaché to American Embassy, London, 1922-24; trip around South America on U.S.S. Oregon; post-armistice operations in the Adriatic; retired 1927; in charge round-table on Limitation of Armaments, Williamstown Institute of Politics, 1929.

Subjects

WHAT AFTER THE KELLOGG PEACE PACT?

ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS — DISARMAMENT

LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS — LATIN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

PHILIP C. JESSUP

B.A. Hamilton College, LL.B. Yale, M.A., Ph.D. Columbia; assistant to solicitor, State Department, 1924-25; assistant professor of International Law, Columbia since 1927; member, law firm, Parker & Garrison since 1927; lecturer, Hague Academy of International Law, summer, 1929; accompanied Elihu Root to Geneva conference on revision of World Court Statutes, 1929; author: *American Neutrality and International Police; The Law of Territorial Waters and Maritime Jurisdiction.*

Subjects

THE WORLD COURT
LATIN AMERICA FREEDOM OF THE SEAS
PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES

LEWIS WEBSTER JONES

A.B. Reed College, Ph.D. Brookings School of Economics; arbitrator, labor disputes, logging and lumbering industry of Pacific Northwest, 1923; graduate work in economics, Columbia, and Brookings School of Economics, 1923-26; fellow, Social Science Research Council, headquarters in London, 1927-28; member, Foreign Policy Association Research Staff since June, 1926.

Subjects

PROTECTION OF AMERICAN INTERESTS ABROAD
ECONOMICS WORK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS
DEBTS AND REPARATIONS COMMERCIAL POLICY

PAUL U. KELLOGG

Editor, *The Survey* since 1912, the *Survey Graphic* since 1921; director, Editorial and Historical Bureau, Department of Civil Affairs, American Red Cross, Paris, 1917-18; member, Committee on Inquiry into the Needs of Refugees, Emergency Red Cross Commission, Italy, 1917; co-author: *British Labor and the War.*

Subjects

THE KELLOGG PACT
SHUTTLES OF UNDERSTANDING
MANCHESTER, ESSEN AND PITTSBURGH

JULIUS KLEIN

B.Litt. University of California, A.M., Ph.D. Harvard; studied at University of Berlin and Sorbonne; chief, Latin-American Division, 1917-19; U. S. commercial attaché, Buenos Aires, 1919-20, director, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, U. S. Department of Commerce, 1921-29, appointed assistant secretary of Commerce, 1929; American delegate, Geneva International Economic Conference, 1927. Available for a few engagements.

Subjects: U. S. Commercial Policy
Latin America

MOSES KOENIGSBERG

Publisher, *San Antonio Evening Star* at 16; reporter and editor for various papers throughout the country, 1894-1913; formerly president and general manager, International News Service, King Feature Service; American delegate to First International Conference of Press Experts, Geneva, 1927; president, Kay Features, Inc., since 1928.

Subject: The Press in International Relations

WILLMOTT H. LEWIS

Washington correspondent, *The London Times;* formerly editor, *Manila* (P. I.) *Times;* chief correspondent, *New York Herald* in China during Boxer uprising; war correspondent with A.E.F.; traveled extensively in Europe, the Balkans, China, Japan, Siberia, the Near East and India.

Subjects: Sea Power and Command of the Seas
Neutral Rights and Maritime Law
International Relations
Anglo-American Relations

ALAIN LOCKE

A.B., Ph.D. Harvard; graduate student, Oxford University, (Rhodes Scholar, 1907-10) and University of Berlin; spent summer of 1927 observing work of the League of Nations with special reference to African Mandates and subject peoples; professor of Philosophy, Howard University since 1917; author: *Race Contacts and Inter-Racial Relations; The New Negro.*

Subjects: THE REDISCOVERY OF AFRICA
THE NEW AFRICA

RAYFORD W. LOGAN

A.B. Williams; first lieutenant, A.E.F., after discharge traveled through Europe for six years; made a trip of investigation through Haiti, 1926; head, Department of Modern Languages, Virginia Union University.

Subjects: HAITI
AFRICA

JAMES G. McDONALD

A.B., A.M. Indiana University; graduate student at Harvard; taught history at Harvard, Radcliffe and Indiana University; traveled and studied abroad. Since 1919, chairman of the Foreign Policy Association.

Subjects

THE WORLD COURT
EUROPEAN POLITICS
THE FAR EAST
THE BALKANS

YUTAKA MINAKUCHI

Born Tokyo, Japan, 1885; educated at Kyoto, Okazaki and Tokyo; in Eastern Siberia for several years studying Russian; came to U.S.; A.B. and A.M. from University of North Carolina.

Subjects

IS THERE A JAPANESE MENACE?
CHINA CHALLENGES JAPAN'S "MONROE DOCTRINE"
WESTERN AND EASTERN CIVILIZATION

PARKER T. MOON

B.S., Ph.D. Columbia, associate professor, International Relations since 1925; member staff, American Commission to Negotiate Peace; international secretary, Committee on Territorial Problems, Peace Conference; managing editor, *Political Science Quarterly* since 1921; author: *Imperialism and World Politics; Syllabus on International Relations; French Foreign Policy.*

Subjects: FRANCE AND THE PEACE OF EUROPE
IMPERIALISM—FICTION, FOLLY OR FACT
NAVIES AND PEACE
MARINES IN THE CARIBBEAN

GEORGE NEBOLSINE

A.B. Williams, M.A. Princeton, also studied at Institut des Hautes Etudes Internationales, Paris; Yale Law School; on research staff, Foreign Policy Association, 1926-27; an editor, *Yale Law Journal;* European travel, summer 1929.

Subjects

CENTRAL EUROPE
INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION
RUSSIA AND HER INFLUENCE IN THE NEAR EAST

WILLIAM A. ORTON

Englishman by birth; B.A., M.A. Christs College, Cambridge; M.Sc. London School of Economics; served in Gallipoli, Egypt, and France; appointed to Intelligence Staff, War Office; special appointment to Ministry of Labor, June 1919; taught London University and Workers Educational Association, England; professor of Economics, Smith College since 1922; author: *Labor in Transition.*

Subjects: THE U. S. AND THE TARIFF QUESTION
ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS
INTERNATIONAL CARTELS
THE U. S. AS A CREDITOR NATION
DISARMAMENT

CHARLES PERGLER

Came to U. S. at the age of 8; admitted to bar 1908; represented the Czechoslovaks at the Congress of Small Nationalities, Washington, 1917; formerly secretary to President Masaryk; representative of the republic in U. S.; former Minister to Japan; author: *America in the Struggle for Czechoslovak Independence; Czechoslovaks in the Present Crisis.*

Subjects: MINORITIES
EUROPE'S NEW REPUBLICS
IS THERE AN INTERNATIONAL LAW?
SHALL THE PEACE TREATIES BE REVISED?

RAYMOND T. RICH

Former acting executive secretary, European Student Relief for reconstruction work in universities of 17 European countries; instructor, Modern History, Canton Christian College, Canton, China, 1924-25; national field secretary, Foreign Policy Association, 1925-27; general secretary, World Peace Foundation since 1927; author: *Extraterritoriality and Tariff Autonomy in China.*

Subjects: ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS
WHAT OF THE KELLOGG PACT?
RUSSIA, AS SEEN BY EAST AND WEST
NAVIES—HOW DO THEY MAINTAIN AND HOW ENDANGER PEACE?

AMEEN RIHANI

Born in Syria 1879; came to U.S. 1889; returned to Syria 1899; wrote prose and verse in both English and Arabic alternately from Syria and New York; negotiated a treaty on behalf of the King of Hedjaz with the rulers of Yemen and Asir, 1922; an observer at the treaty negotiations between King Ibn Saoud of Central Arabia and representatives of Iraq and Great Britain that same year; lectured in Syria, England and America; came to U.S. December 1928; author: *The Chant of Mystics; Making of Modern Arabia.*

Subjects

ARABIA
WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET
ZIONISM
THE FUTURE OF THE NEAR EAST
THE MANDATED COUNTRIES: IRAQ, SYRIA, PALESTINE

LINDSAY ROGERS

Formerly on faculties of the University of Virginia, Amherst College, Harvard University, now professor of Public Law and Comparative Jurisprudence, Columbia; chief consultant to Sub-Committee on Finance of the N.Y.C. Committee on Plan and Survey, 1927; commissioner to investigate the Administration of Department of Labor, 1928.

Subjects

WHENCE COME FOREIGN POLICIES?
PARTY BLOCS IN EUROPE AND THE U. S.
ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND THE POLITICIANS

NICHOLAS ROOSEVELT

Attached to American Embassy, Paris, 1914-16; captain, U.S.A. during the war; attached to American Mission to Negotiate Peace, 1918-19; headed American Mission to Hungary, 1919; joined *New York Tribune* staff, 1921, and covered Washington Conference; transferred to *New York Times,* 1923, as expert on Far Eastern Affairs, special correspondent to study economic conditions in Europe, 1923-24, and to Far East on special mission, 1925-26; author: *The Philippines: A Treasure and a Problem; The Restless Pacific.* Available for a limited number of engagements.

Subjects

ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS
THE PRESS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
NAVAL LIMITATION
THE FAR EAST

CHESTER H. ROWELL

Ph.B. University of Michigan; graduate work at Universities of Halle, Berlin, Paris and Rome; editor and publisher, *Fresno Republican,* 1898-1920; member, U. S. Shipping Board, 1920-1921; member, 1925, 1927, and international information secretary, 1929, Institute of Pacific Relations.

Subjects

THE WORLD COURT
BOLSHEVIST RUSSIA
POPULATION AND IMMIGRATION
AFTER THE KELLOGG PACT
MANCHURIA
MUSSOLINI AND DICTATORSHIPS
CHINA, THE AWAKENING GIANT

JOSEPHINE SCHAIN

Director, Department of International Cooperation for the Prevention of War, National League of Women Voters, 1923-27; secretary, National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War since 1924; studied conditions in Central Europe, the Balkans and Turkey, 1926, attending the Institute of International Relations, Geneva, and the Assembly of the League of Nations; in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Iraq, Persia, Turkey and Russia, 1928.

Subjects: CHANGING CONDITIONS IN THE NEAR EAST
SHALL THE U.S. ENTER THE WORLD COURT?

GUY STEVENS

Born in Vermont; graduate of Harvard; formerly, legal department of Texas Oil Co.; director, Association of Producers of Petroleum in Mexico, 1921 through 1928; since 1929 of the law firm of Haskell, Lyon, Stevens, and Block.

Subjects: THE PRESS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
PROTECTION OF FOREIGN INVESTMENTS
MEXICO

FRANK TANNENBAUM

Born Austria, 1893; came to U. S. 1905; B.A. Columbia; Ph.D. Brookings School of Economics; newspaper correspondent in Mexico, 1922-24; made survey of land and agricultural conditions for Institute of Economics in Mexico 1925-27, and Porto Rico, 1929; author: *The Labor Movement.*

Subject: MEXICO
PORTO RICO

NORMAN THOMAS

B.A. Princeton, B.D. Union Theological Seminary; member, Executive Committee, Civil Liberties Union; Socialist candidate for President, 1928; director, League for Industrial Democracy; author: *Challenge of War; What is Industrial Democracy?*

Subjects: NAVAL DISARMAMENT
ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS
THE KELLOGG PACT AND THE WORLD COURT
THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND LATIN AMERICA
PROTECTION OF AMERICAN INTERESTS ABROAD

EDGAR TURLINGTON

M.A. Oxford University; in Division of Near East Affairs, Department of State, 1918-1925; legal adviser, American Mission to Lausanne Conference, 1923; detailed to American High Commission, Constantinople, 1923; research associate, Columbia University Research Committee on Latin America, 1925-29; special counsel, U. S. Agency, General and Special Claims Commissions, U. S. and Mexico since 1927.

Subjects: AMERICAN INVESTMENTS ABROAD
MEXICO, AND U.S. MEXICAN RELATIONS
AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH THE NEAR EAST

WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING

Born Louisville 1877; B.S. University of Chicago; contributor to newspapers and periodicals, including the *American Federationist* and other labor publications; author: *American Labor and American Democracy; The Mexican Question under Calles and Obregon; Out of Their Own Mouths* (with Samuel Gompers).

Subjects: OUR FINANCIAL IMPERIALISM
OUR POLICY TOWARDS RUSSIA
U. S. POLICY IN LATIN AMERICA
LABOR'S INFLUENCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

CHARLES K. WEBSTER

Born Liverpool 1886; educated Kings College; professor of Modern History, Liverpool University, 1914-22; secretary, Military Section, British Delegation, Peace Conference; professor of International Politics, University of Wales, Aberystwyth since 1922; also professor of History, Harvard; member, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1927, 1929; author: *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, 1815-22.*

Subjects: FAR EASTERN RELATIONS
ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION THE ALTERNATIVE TO WAR

GEORGE T. WEITZEL

Secretary, American Legation to Nicaragua and Costa Rica, 1907-08, to Panama, 1908-10; duty in Division of Latin-American Affairs, State Department, 1910-11; special duty, American Embassy, Mexico City, 1911; E.E. and M.P. to Nicaragua, 1911-13; special agent to assist American Ambassador at Constantinople; group secretary, Second Pan-American Financial Conference, 1920; now general counsel, American Automobile Association; author: *American Policy in Nicaragua.*

Subjects: OUR RELATIONS WITH CENTRAL AMERICA
LATIN AMERICAN PROBLEMS THE U. S. AND NICARAGUA

PERCY WINNER

Born in Brooklyn 1899; studied at Columbia and the Sorbonne; correspondent, *Chicago Tribune, New York Herald,* and *Manchester Guardian;* lived in France and England; staff correspondent, Associated Press in Italy for three years; was official translator for the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs; accompanied Mussolini on his visit to Tripoli, 1926; now telegraph editor, *New York Evening Post.*

Subjects: FASCIST ITALY
DICTATORSHIPS
AFTER MUSSOLINI, WHAT?
PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT IN LATIN COUNTRIES

SAVEL ZIMAND

Born Iassy, Rumania, 1893; University of Berlin, 1909-13; came to U. S. 1913, naturalized; traveled widely in Europe and Asia; acted as an accredited newspaper correspondent in Europe and Asia; engaged in research in economics and foreign affairs; author: *Modern Social Movements; State Capitalism in Russia; Living India.*

Subjects: RUSSIA
INDIA AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

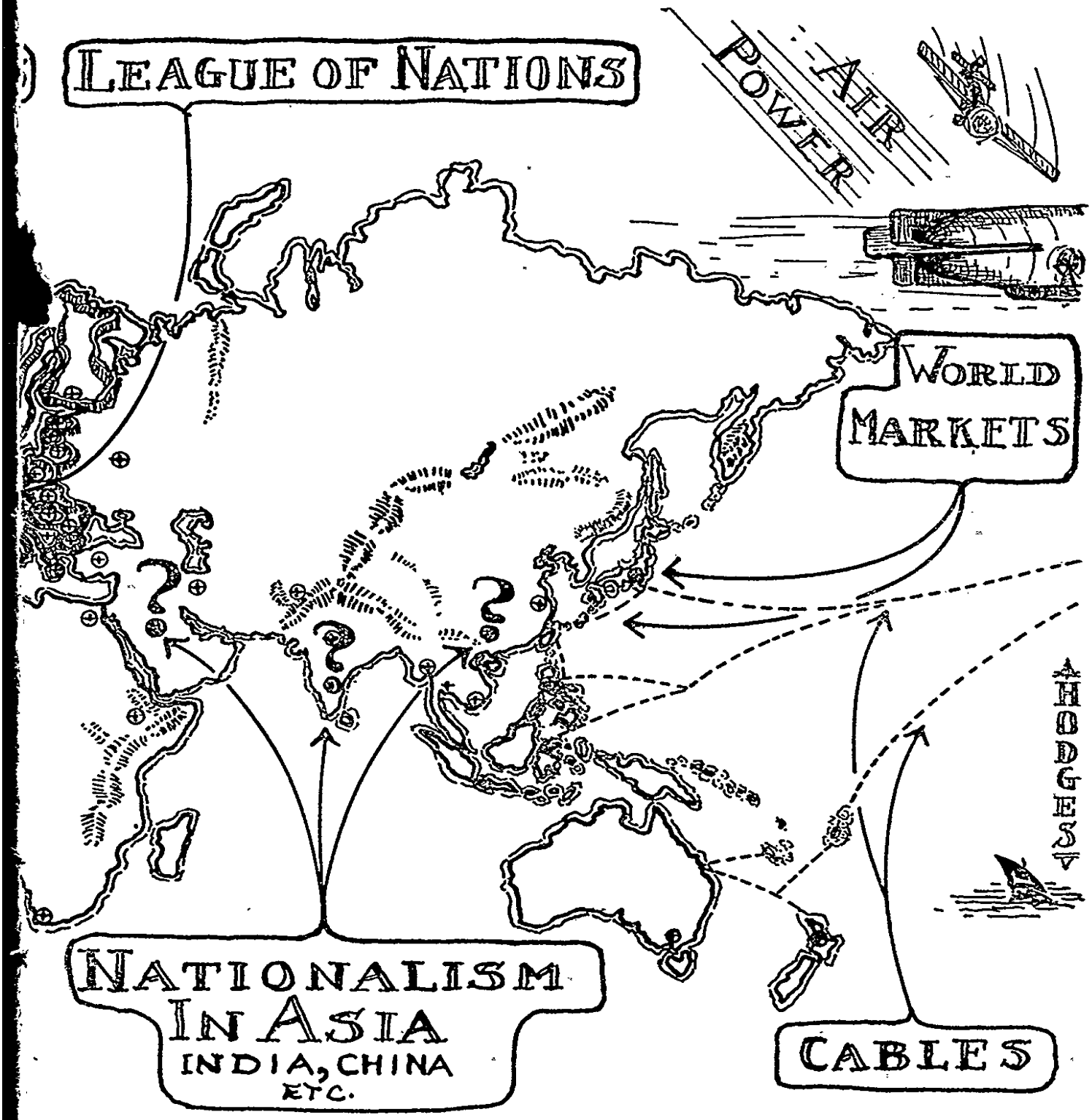
We are glad to announce that

AMBASSADOR ALANSON B. HOUGHTON

who has just returned from eight years in Europe will probably make an extended speaking tour across the continent under our auspices in the Fall of 1929.

Bookings arranged at any time, but immediate application insures the best program for your group. For information regarding any speaker's availability and rates apply to

SPEAKERS' BUREAU
of the
FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION
INCORPORATED
18 East 41st Street, New York



WORLD PROBLEMS

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION
INCORPORATED
Washington Bureau
NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

TELEPHONE: DISTRICT 3780

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
8 WEST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE
WILLIAM T. STONE

March 15, 1938

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Hoover:

I am enclosing a pamphlet which has just been published by the Foreign Policy Association entitled "Marihuana, the New Dangerous Drug."

I will be very grateful if you will make an appointment for me to see you in regard to this problem. I know you understand probably more fully than anyone else the importance of checking the spread of the use of these cigarettes. Will you please ask your secretary to telephone this office - District 3780 - when the appointment can be arranged. I shall be free anytime at your convenience from March 21 to 25.

You will probably be interested to know that the Treasury has bought more than 5000 copies of this pamphlet for their use and that Miss Elizabeth Sweeney of the National Catholic Welfare Conference has also put in a very considerable order for use by their organization.

Very sincerely yours,

Mrs. Howell Moorhead

Mrs. Howell Moorhead, Secretary
Opium Research Committee

Enclosure:
Copy, "Marihuana, the New Dangerous Drug"

61-7802-X14

RECORDED & INDEXED

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
APR 1 1938
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

No record of Mrs. Howell Moorhead 3/22/38

ENCLOSURE

61-7802-X14

61-7802- X14

~~94-4-1867-1~~

15c

MARIHUANA

THE NEW DANGEROUS DRUG

FREDERICK T. MERRILL

OPIUM RESEARCH COMMITTEE
Foreign Policy Association
Incorporated

The Opium Research Committee of the Foreign Policy Association was established in 1922 for the purpose of following and reporting on the development of the international control over opium, coca leaves and their derivatives. Since that time the Committee has been continuously active in regard to the accomplishments of the League of Nations, the collaboration of the United States, and the operation of International Conventions on dangerous drugs.

The abuse of marihuana in the United States has been so rapid and alarming that the Committee has recently made a study in this field, results of which are published in this pamphlet. The Committee is now preparing a *Foreign Policy Report* dealing with the problem of raw opium production and its relation to the world's medical needs and to opium smoking, still temporarily permitted by government monopolies throughout the Far East.

HELEN HOWELL MOORHEAD, *Secretary*
JOSEPH P. CHAMBERLAIN
HERBERT L. MAY
FREDERICK T. MERRILL

March 1938

MARIHUANA

THE NEW DANGEROUS DRUG

FREDERICK T. MERRILL

OPIUM RESEARCH COMMITTEE
FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, INCORPORATED
Washington Office: 1200 National Press Building, Washington, D. C.

COMPOSED, PRINTED AND BOUND BY UNION LABOR
AT THE ACADEMY PRESS, NEW YORK, N. Y.
MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

181

Marihuana—The New Dangerous Drug

The alarming spread of marihuana[1] and its increasing use by considerable numbers of the youth of the United States has not only aroused national concern but has also attracted the attention of the League of Nations. It is increasingly recognized that the spread of marihuana constitutes a problem for all nations—analogous to the problems presented by the abuse of opium, coca leaves and their derivatives, which experience has shown can be effectively solved only through international cooperation. In 1936 almost four hundred tons of marihuana in one form or another were seized in the illicit traffic in the United States, while numerous crimes were traced to its abuse. Its peculiarly virulent effect, leading sometimes to insanity, makes its use dangerous to the individual and to society in general. Neighboring countries, for example Mexico and Canada, have already become aware of its menace and have publicly called attention to it.

The authorities of the Federal government responsible for the prevention of crime and those charged with the prevention and cure of narcotic drug addiction have not been slow in recognizing the seriousness of the situation. The Bureau of Narcotics of the Treasury Department has taken the lead in advocating new laws and stricter enforcement. Since the drug made its appearance in the United States as a drug of abuse, the Bureau of Narcotics has initiated research and experimental projects designed to widen knowledge concerning the growing plant and its narcotic properties so that law enforcement authorities everywhere can more readily combat the evil. On October 1, 1937 a new Federal law went into effect, imposing certain taxes with respect to the production, manufacture, sale and transfer of marihuana.

1. (Also spelled marijuana.) Pronounced mar-i-wá-na. Known as *Indian hemp* or *hashish* in Europe; and, colloquially in this country as "reefers," "muggles," etc.

While this law is an internal revenue measure, an indirect result of its enforcement should be to limit the use of the narcotic element to proper medical channels in accordance with the aim and purpose of practically all state laws regulating the marihuana traffic. The Bureau of Narcotics was largely instrumental in bringing about the enactment of this law. It will be several years before its effects can be estimated. Meanwhile, the public in general can assist the campaign of the government through a more complete knowledge of the plant and its abuse in this country and abroad.

Indian Hemp in Ancient Times

Many authorities have identified the narcotic intoxicant used by peoples of the ancient civilizations as Indian hemp.[1] In earliest times the drug was known in India and Asia Minor. Such ancient historical writings as the *Zend-Avesta,* the histories of Herodotus, and the poems of Homer contain references to hemp as the source of insensibility and drunkenness. Hindu priests and devotees of Vishnu have taken various forms of hemp to induce religious hallucination and frenzy, and more than one royal princeling is alleged to have been rendered incapable of reigning by becoming a slave of the drug through purposeful encouragement. Later, the use of Indian hemp became very common, particularly during the hegemony of the Arabs, as the frequency with which *bhang* and hashish are mentioned in the *Arabian Nights* can testify. Moslem sheiks knew its power on the suggestibility of their disciples, and many atrocious acts by bands of Mussulman warriors were committed under its influence. The literature of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is filled with references to the prevalence of hashish intoxication. No scientific study of the drug was undertaken, however, until the nineteenth century. In 1845 a surprisingly accurate description of the effects of

1. Pascal Brotteaux, *Hashish, Weed of Folly and Dreams* (Paris, Editions Vega, 1934).

hashish was published by Doctor Moreau of Tours.[1] His recognition of the relationship between hashish excess and insanity anticipated the results of modern psychological research. Attracted by this treatise, French doctors, scientists and such writers as Balzac, Baudelaire and Gautier experimented with hashish and left vivid accounts of the delirium and hallucination suffered while under its influence. But it was not until the twentieth century that the world recognized the drug as a great social menace and initiated measures for its suppression.

Botanical Terminology

There is only one species of the hemp plant, *cannabis sativa L.* Certain distinguishable differences in plants grown in different countries have been noted but they have not been sufficiently definite to indicate varieties in the botanical sense.[2] From the agronomic point of view, however, recognizable variation occurs, induced in part by differences in environment. Apparently regardless of locality of growth, this plant produces the narcotic principle in varying amounts. Lamark, in 1803, carefully described a plant, *cannabis sativa,* which thenceforth has been referred to as *cannabis sativa indica.* It may be that the popular mind, associating this term strictly with the Orient, has applied the term *cannabis americana* to the plant grown in the Western Hemisphere. Botanical authorities apparently recognize no such differentiation and *cannabis sativa* remains the only and all-inclusive designation for this plant, which non-technically has been known as Indian hemp. Recent years have brought into usage a third designation; namely, marihuana, a slang word of Mexican-Indian origin. It has been employed primarily to designate those parts of the plant, or their derivatives, whose potency in terms of a contained narcotic prin-

1. J. Moreau, *Hashish and Mental Alienation* (Paris, 1845).
2. For botannical description, see Annex I, p. 37.

ciple was high. In other words, since the bulk of the resin is found on the upper leaves and the flowering tops, the term marihuana has been relatively limited to those portions of the plant, while hashish refers to a special form of recovered resin of the plant.

In the United States official recognition has been accorded the designation marihuana, and it has been defined by statute as " . . . all parts of the plant *Cannabis sativa L.,* whether growing or not; the seeds thereof; the resin extracted from any part of such plant; and every compound, manufacture, salt, derivative, mixture, or preparation of such plant, its seeds, or resin; but shall not include the mature stalks of such plant, fiber produced from such stalks, oil or cake made from the seeds of such plant, any other compound, manufacture, salt, derivative, mixture, or preparation of such mature stalks (except the resin extracted therefrom), fiber, oil, or cake, or the sterilized seed of such plant which is incapable of germination." This definition is obviously designed to be of sufficiently wide scope to include not only the portions of the plant which are used as a narcotic, but also the seeds capable of reproducing themselves. The varied terminology of the plant and its poisonous element has led to a certain amount of confusion. The inexact term, cannabis, the popular term, Indian hemp, and the colloquial word, marihuana, now a statutory term in the United States, are all loosely used to refer either to the entire plant, its narcotic element, or the preparations used in abuse.

Growth and Description

The hemp plant probably originated in Central and Western Asia. From there it has spread to almost all parts of the world. At the present time cannabis sativa grows wild and is cultivated in wide areas of India, Asia Minor, North Africa, Mexico and the United States. European countries grow only small quantities. Certain modifications in the

Microphotograph courtesy of Bureau of Narcotics

DRIED FEMALE FLOWERING TOP

Cannabis Sativa L.

Note the branching and sub-branching of the stalk, the fruit and leaves. It is this part of the plant that yields the most resin.

structure of the plant are caused by differences in climate, particularly regarding the quality of the resin that is exuded. Thus the European plant produces a resin less active than that grown in India. The amount of active resin produced is also variable, depending mostly on the altitude, moisture

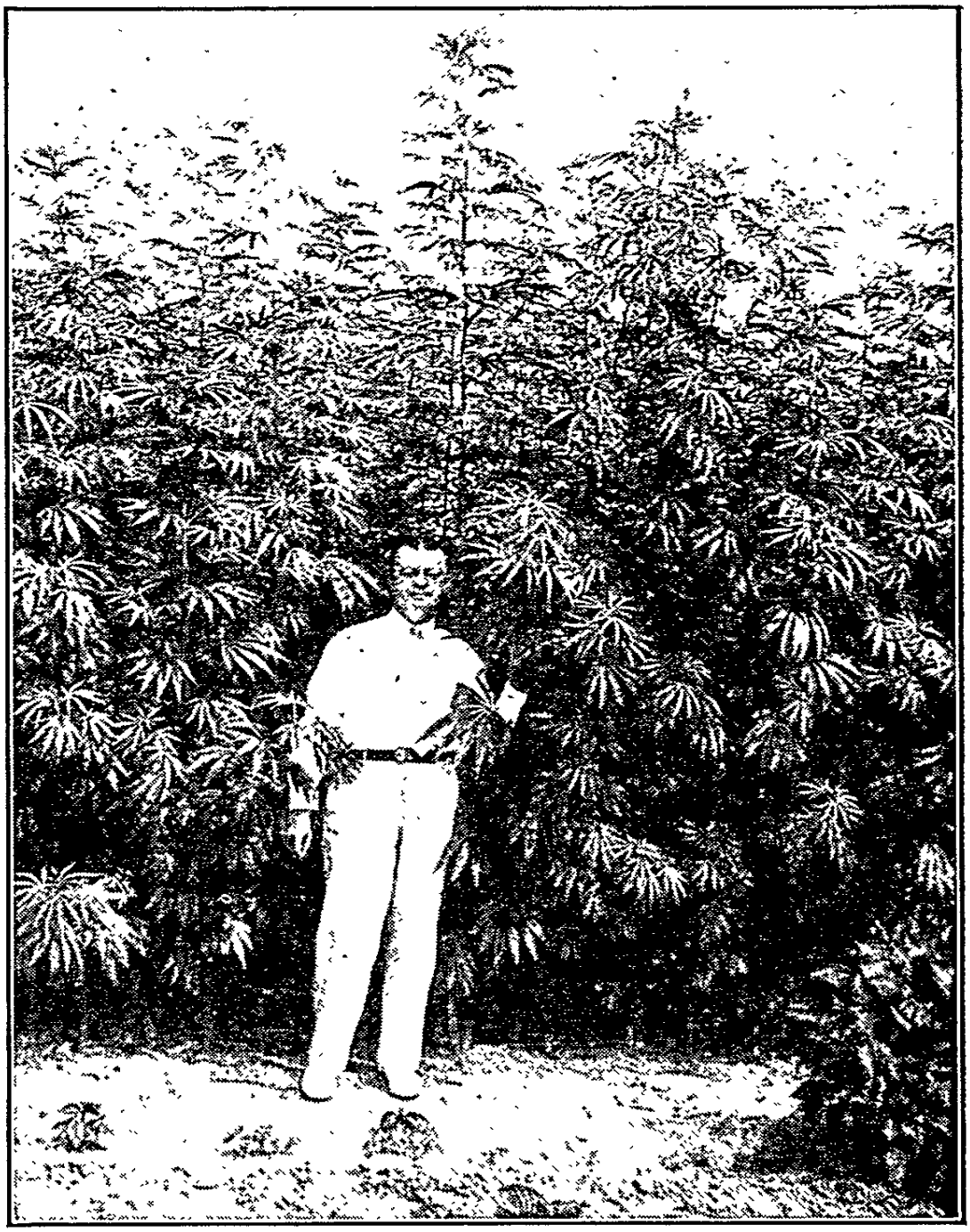
and temperature of its environment. Consequently, a hot climate in a medium altitude affords the best conditions for growing hemp with a high yield of active resin. One leading authority contends that the resin is secreted and exuded to protect the female top of the plant against a dry atmosphere and high temperature.[1] The sunny slopes of the Himalayas, the plateaux of Western Tibet and the dry highlands of Greece and North Africa produce maximum quantities of the deleterious resin.

The plant itself is an herbaceous annual. It varies in height from four to sixteen feet, growing rapidly to maturity within three months from the time of sowing the seed. The stalk is very fibrous. The flowers, not very prominent, give off a characteristic odor. The fruit, which is the hemp seed from which oil is extracted, is smooth and globular. On the tip ends of the leaves, on the bracts and tops of the mature plant are certain pluricellular hairs. These hairs secrete the amber-colored resin which, as the plant matures, encases the tops in a glutinous mass of "protective varnish." The resin contains a substance called cannabin or cannabinol. This compound has not yet been definitely identified, but is thought to be the chemical which, when taken internally by ingestion or inhalation, provokes the dangerous narcotic intoxication. Only when chemists can isolate this compound and discover its relation to certain other substances in the plant can chemical tests to identify cannabis be infallible.

Recent Experimentation

The Bureau of Narcotics of the Treasury Department, in collaboration with the Department of Agriculture, has recently been conducting important experiments to fill in the gaps of knowledge concerning cannabis sativa and its

1. Dr. J. Bouquet, Inspector of Pharmacies, *Le Cannabisme en Tunisie* (Tunis, 1925). Cf. also League of Nations, Opium, Advisory Committee, O.C. 1542 (o).



FULL-GROWN MARIHUANA SHOWING EXTREME HEIGHT OF THE PLANT

narcotic element. An extensive comparative study was made of the findings of experts abroad, who have been experimenting under the auspices of the League of Nations. As a result of the American government tests it was concluded, contrary to beliefs previously held, that the male and female plants both contain approximately equal proportions of the resinous principle. Moreover, it was demonstrated that all parts of the plant, except the roots, pith and lower stalk, and even young plants barely three inches high, are capable of producing traces of this resin.

In the course of experimentation with the plant to find a suitable means for determining the presence of the narcotic principle, it was discovered that the chemical methods hitherto developed and proposed for identification could not be considered universally effective. The alkaline Beam test, the most acceptable method of chemical detection, gave a positive reaction on only two-thirds of the plants tested. The experimenters thus had to conclude that neither the alkaline nor the acid Beam test,[1] as developed at the present time, offers any positive assurance as a chemical means of identification from a criminological viewpoint.[2]

Important experiments are to be carried on in Wisconsin during the summer of 1938 with the view to breeding out the narcotic principle of the plant. Success of such endeavors would be extremely valuable, not only from the point of view of industry but also law enforcement.

Preparations

No elaborate process or special skill is necessary to extract the drug from the plant. In India the resin itself is collected from the sticky, glutinous flowering tops. In this country

1. The acid Beam test, using acetane and sulphuric acid instead of the ethanol and caustic of the alkaline test, is less sensitive and deserves consideration only as a control test.

2. The most effective method now available of identifying cannabis, or marihuana, is described in Annex II, p. 38.

the tops and leaves are merely dried, naturally or by means of blowers, and crushed into a coarse powder. For use as a narcotic intoxicant the powder is then rolled into cigarettes. The variety of preparations and the numerous methods of consuming the drug in different countries has resulted in a confusing nomenclature. (See table on page 13) The powdered residue of the dried tops and leaves is the hashish of the Near East and Egypt, the *takrouri* of Tunis, the *kif* of Morocco. The pure resin is *chiras*. The narcotic effect varies with the preparation.

EFFECTS—PHYSICAL AND MENTAL

The medical profession has been unable to reach any agreed conclusions regarding many phases of the physiological action of marihuana on the human system. From the early subjective experiments with hashish intoxication by French scientists and writers[1] to present-day tests with animals, it has never been conclusively proved that a devotee of the drug suffers physiological reactions similar to those which occur in the body of a morphine addict when he is deprived of the drug. This "withdrawal" phenomenon is what the medical profession describes as a symptom of addiction. Nevertheless, continued use of marihuana does give rise to a form of addiction,[2] amounting at least to a craving.

Medical experts do agree, however, on the complete unpredictability of the effect of marihuana on different individuals. A small dose, taken by one subject, may bring about intense intoxication, raving fits, criminal assaults. Another subject can consume large amounts without experiencing any reaction except stupefaction. It is this uncertain effect which makes marihuana one of the most dangerous drugs known. Doctors can prescribe with great accuracy the use of mor-

1. Cf. Baudelaire, Théophile Gautier, Charles Binet-Langle, Charles Richet, J. M. Raulin, Moreau, *et al.*
2. Cf. Bouquet, cited.

phine for the relief of pain, predict its action, and describe satisfactorily the phenomenon of morphine addiction. On the other hand, no prediction can be made as to the effect of even one marihuana cigarette, for it has happened that even this small dose so violently upset one individual that he became a homicidal menace to society. It may thus be concluded that the cannabin principle in American cannabis (marihuana) is often dangerously potent. Moreover, each individual reacts differently towards equal doses of this narcotic, depending on his racial, physiological and emotional constitution and on the unpredictable quality of the poisonous resin contained in the marihuana he uses.

Certain physical effects appear to be present in the majority of cases of marihuana intoxication, subject, of course, to the aforesaid variable elements. The first bodily reactions appear an hour or so after consumption in the form of muscular trembling, increased heartbeat, acceleration of pulse.[1] This is accompanied by a ringing in the ears, an intense feeling of heat in the head, dizziness, and sensations of cold in the hands and feet. Constrictions in the chest, dilation of the eye pupil, and muscular contraction follow. These physical reactions increase in intensity until either vomiting or complete stupefaction occurs. Restless sleep, accompanied by bizarre phantasmagoria, then overcomes the victim.

The mental effect is much more variable, since the emotional and imaginative attitudes of the subject are the major determining factors. At the present time subjective experiences, rather than the testimony of psychiatrists, form the only basis for a description of marihuana delirium. Although the drug acts on the entire nervous system, its impact on the higher nerve centers is the cause of the vivid psychological reactions. Various stages of intoxication with subsequent mental aberrations are often recognizable. Doctor Moreau has enumerated eight:

1. Cf. Moreau, cited.

Preparations Used in the Abuse of Cannabis Sativa

Country	*Part of Plant Used*	*How Prepared*	*Method of Use*	*Local or Ancient Name*
United States, Canada and Mexico	Dried crushed tops and leaves	Mixed into cigarettes	Smoked	Marihuana, muggles, reefers, Indian Hay
India and Central Asia	Raw resin extracted from the tops	Kneaded into sticks or mixed with various spices	Smoked or eaten	Charas, Dawamesk (if mixed)
	Flowering tops	Crushed into sticky mass or mixed with spices	Smoked in cigarettes or narghilehs or eaten	Ganja
	Leaves	Powdered leaves mixed with spices, honey or water	Eaten and drunk	Bhang
Tunis, Algeria and Morocco	Dried crushed tops	Powder mixed with tobacco	Smoked in pipes	Takrouri (Tunis), Kif (Morocco)
Persia, Egypt, Syria, Greece and Arabia	Raw resin from flowering tops	Reduced to powder or kneaded into sticks	Smoked or eaten	Chira, Hashish
	Flowering tops	Soaked with butter and water and mixed with almonds and honey	Eaten in form of cakes	Madjun, Magoun, Esrar (Turkish)
	Flowering tops and leaves	Crushed into powder	Smoked in narghilehs	Hashish, Kafour
South Africa	Flowering tops and leaves	Crushed leaves or powder	Smoked	Djamba, Dagga

First stage: characteristic euphoria, or feeling of unnatural light-heartedness.

Second stage: intellectual excitation, dissociation of ideas and exaggeration of emotions.

Third stage: illusion in regard to time and space.

Fourth stage: intense auditory sensibility, where every musical sound is distorted.

Fifth stage: fixation of ideas, which are derived by the suggestibility of near-by stimuli.

Sixth stage: overbalancing emotional disturbances.

Seventh stage: culmination of the sixth stage where the over-excited and distraught subject may commit violent irresponsible acts due to irresistible impulses of suggestive origin.

Eighth stage: hallucination, varied and often terrifying.

During the milder stages of intoxication, vivid kaleidoscopic visions, inordinate and senseless laughter, and a loss of spatial and temporal relations are the effects usually observed. Sensations are so exaggerated as to cause innumerable illusions.[1] The furnishings of the room assume incongruous and bizarre forms. The auditory sense is particularly affected, and sounds are distorted and magnified.[2] The most common and noticeable aberration is the uncontrollable fits of idiotic laughter. The worst pun, the most innocent remark will cause this noisy hilarity, which is usually motivated by the illusions of hearing and the fantastic hallucinations of sight.[3] In addition, the subject loses all sense of space and time. The passing of a few minutes appears to be hours, and short distances appear immense.[4] It must not be thought that this apparently harmless and laughable stage of intoxication is without danger to others. The most important fact is that even in the earliest stages of intoxication the will

1. Charles Richet, *Intellectual Poisons* (Paris, 1877), Chapter IV.

2. This accounts for the use of marihuana by some members of "hot" orchestras.

3. J. M. Ronlin, *Laughter and Exhilarants* (Paris, 1900).

4. Cf. Louis J. Bragman, M.D., "Weed of Insanity," *Medical Journal and Record,* 1925.

power is destroyed and inhibitions and restraints are released. This Freudian release of the censor provokes immoderate and abnormal actions, the moral barricades are down and often the wildest debauchery and sexuality results.[1] Most dangerous of all is the man under the influence of marihuana at the wheel of an automobile. His illusion of time and space destroys his judgment of speed and distances. When eighty miles an hour seems only twenty, he is capable of leaving a trail of fatal accidents in his wake.

The most harmful anti-social effects of the drug's action occur during the later stages. The intense over-excitement of the nerves and emotions leads to uncontrollable irritability and violent rages, which in most advanced forms cause assault and murder. The subject is now under a form of "artificial madness."[2] Illusions pass into hallucinations which are often so terrifying as to cause acute mania. In this condition, the subject may run amok, a terrible state of temporary insanity that has recently caused several horrifying murders in this country.[3] In this advanced stage amnesia usually occurs, and there is consequently no remembrance when consciousness returns of the acts committed.[4] Convulsive seizures or catalepsy sometimes climax such abuse.

In conclusion, it is important to recognize that both the prolonged use of large doses by habitués and the single large dose taken by a novice may cause criminal maniacal acts. Moreover, even small quantities can destroy the will power and the ability to connect and control thoughts and actions, thus releasing all inhibitions. The drug has a corroding effect on the body and on the mind, weakening the entire physical system and often leading to insanity.

1. Cf. C. Ryley Cooper, *Here's To Crime* (Boston, Little Brown & Co., 1937), p. 335.
2. Charles Binet-Langle, "Effect of Hashish on Neurons," *Revue Scientific* (Paris, 1901).
3. Cf. p. 29.
4. Dhunjiboy, "Indian Hemp Insanity," *Journal of Mental Science,* 1930.

Marihuana and Insanity

The relationship between marihuana and insanity was thoroughly investigated in India by the British Indian Hemp Drugs Commission of 1893-1894. The Commission concluded that, although no brain lesions were directly caused by the abuse of the hemp drugs, their use in excess did cause insanity. The mental symptoms of hemp intoxication were observed to be similar to those of insanity. A singular form of mental derangement was apparent among young novices. Several years ago the medical superintendent of the Indian Mental Hospital at Ranchi confirmed this earlier investigation by concluding that hemp drugs were a cerebral poison, more injurious than opium in the causation of insanity.[1] Western medical authorities tend to agree that insanity may result from habitual use. Many cases of hashish derangement are on record in the asylums and hospitals of Cairo. The use of marihuana in this country is so recent that records of marihuana insanity are not yet available, although isolated cases do exist.

INTERNATIONAL RESTRICTIONS

Indian hemp was not among the drugs included in the Hague Opium Convention of 1912. In 1925, however, it was defined in the Geneva Drug Convention, and the pure resin of the plant was brought under the same trade restrictions as cocaine and the derivatives of opium. This convention, to which the United States is not a party, banned the export of Indian hemp resin and the preparations of which resin forms the base—hashish, *esrar, chiras* and *djamba*—to countries which prohibited their use.

By 1934 the League of Nations' Opium Advisory Committee drew attention once again to the increased abuses of

1. Cf. Dhunjiboy, cited.

Indian hemp.[1] It appeared possible that with decrease in the illicit traffic in other drugs, narcotic addicts might turn to hashish in an effort to satisfy their craving. Restrictions on the possession of hashish and the cultivation of Indian hemp differed in every country. In addition, many members of the Opium Advisory Committee felt that the Geneva Drug Convention of 1925 was defective in that it (1) exempted the staminate (male) plant; (2) required that countries control the traffic and manufacture of only the galenical preparations of Indian hemp; and (3) permitted trade, under certain conditions, in resin and its dangerous preparations notwithstanding the fact that it has no medicinal or industrial value and is injurious to health.

Consequently, the Opium Advisory Committee appointed a subcommittee to study and report upon the whole cannabis problem. Under the chairmanship of the American representative, the cannabis subcommittee has examined a number of general and technical documents prepared by the Committee's experts and by certain chemists and pharmacologists who have been asked to collaborate.[2] The subcommittee, at its first meeting in 1935, recommended that studies be undertaken with a view to modifying or adding to the existing Conventions with respect to definition, nomenclature and more effective measures for international control.[3] Before any such action could be taken, it was found necessary to initiate new studies regarding the cause and effect of cannabis abuse, the problem of addiction to cannabis, and the medical use of the drug. Moreover, the importance of devising a simple and infallible test to establish the presence of cannabinol was emphasized. Such a test

1. League of Nations, Opium Advisory Committee, *Report to Council on the work of the 19th Session,* C.530.M.241.1934.1, Geneva, December 4, 1934.

2. Cf. League of Nations, Opium Advisory Committee, Documents O.C. 1542 *et al.*

3. Cf. League of Nations, Opium Advisory Committee, *Report to Council on the work of the 20th Session,* C.253.M.125.1935.1., p. 34.

would provide police officials with the means for conclusive recognition of cannabis sativa and facilitate convictions for its illegal use and possession.

The situation in each country regarding Indian hemp, its galenical preparations and its resin is reported to the League in accordance with obligations under the Geneva Drug Convention of 1925. Seizures, the illicit traffic, and new regulations are discussed each year by the Opium Advisory Committee.[1] Statistics of export, import and consumption are examined by the Permanent Central Opium Board.[2] Reports to the Board in 1935 for the seizures effected in connection with illicit imports and exports—i.e., seizures at ports and borders only—showed an increase of almost 100 per cent over 1934, with Syria and South Africa the greatest victims. A report issued in 1935 by the League Secretariat has condensed governmental reports and described recent developments in several areas.[3]

With respect to Asia, apart from the Near East, the question of Indian hemp arises in the internal consumption in India. The Indian Government allows the moderate use of the hemp drugs—*charas, ganja,* and *bhang.* The former, which is the pure resin, is almost always smoked, while the *bhang* and *ganja* are consumed by swallowing liquid mixtures or sweetened pastilles. Almost 800 tons of these preparations were consumed throughout India in 1931. Because these drugs have been known in India for well over thirty centuries and are widely consumed in connection with certain social and religious customs, the British government has always held that it is neither practical nor desirable to alter its policy of toleration.[4]

1. The Opium Advisory Committee was appointed in 1921 by the Council of the League of Nations to assist the members of the League to discharge their responsibilities under the Covenant and the Hague Convention.

2. The Permanent Central Opium Board was set up under Article XIX of the Geneva Convention of 1925.

3. Cf. League of Nations, Opium Advisory Committee, O.C. 1542, cited.

4. Report of Indian Hemp Drugs Commission, 1893-1894.

The Balkan states have often been a source of supply for the illicit traffic in hashish, of which Egypt is the greatest victim. Turkey and Greece have within the last few years prohibited the growth of hemp and have destroyed large stocks intended for hashish manufacture. Legislation now provides for strict measures of supervision throughout the Balkans and Near East, except in Persia, where cultivation is allowed and where hashish export is uncontrolled. Yet there is still a good deal of clandestine production, Turkish hashish from the neighborhood of Brussa being most in demand because of its superior quality. Syria, a mandate of France, is another offender in this respect.

In Northern Africa the use of hashish is widespread. The traffic increased to such a degree in Egypt that something like 14 per cent of the population were habitual users.[1] The illiterate peasant class offers a remunerative market to the smuggler who operates from near-by countries where hemp legislation is lacking or ineffective. The French government has made a decided effort to reduce the illicit traffic among its African colonies. A state monopoly system exists in Tunis and Morocco, where the hemp is cultivated and *takrouri* and *kif* are sold as intoxicants. Crude resin (*chira*) is prohibited, but sometimes smuggled. In other sections of Africa, where Indian hemp is brought under restrictions by the British government, there is a great deal of troublesome illicit traffic. Many native tribes use the drug in religious rites, inducing frenzy and stupefaction. The conclusions reached in the Secretariat's report were that "apart from countries like Siam, Tunisia and Morocco, where the consumption of certain preparations of Indian hemp containing resin is tolerated . . . there is a very large clandestine consumption widely spread throughout the world and entirely supplied by illicit traffic."

But especially disturbing to the Opium Advisory Com-

1. Cf. *Hearings before Committee on Ways and Means,* House of Representatives, 75th Congress, 1st session, on H.R. 6385, April 27, 1937, p. 19.

mittee at Geneva has been the increased use of cannabis in the United States and Canada. In 1934 the Canadian representative spoke of marihuana as a very serious problem in Canada, affecting young people not previously addicted to other drugs.[1] The smuggling of marihuana into Canada from the United States enabled him to confirm reports regarding the serious situation across the border. The terrible effects of this form of narcotic abuse on criminality were also brought into focus for the first time. Especially important was the fact that the American form of Indian hemp was recognized as equal in potency to and more virulent in effect than that found anywhere else in the world.

The United States is a party to two international drug conventions, the Hague Opium Convention of 1912 and the Narcotics Limitation Convention of 1931. These conventions operate only with respect to opium, coca leaves and their derivations; therefore this country has not as yet undertaken obligations with regard to cannabis. Moreover, until the passage of the Marihuana Tax Act of 1937, there had been no national legislation on the subject of cannabis which would enable the government to cooperate in this respect. The import and export had been practically unrestricted, and no direct means existed for furnishing statistics and information concerning the traffic to the Opium Advisory Committee or to the public.[2] Now, however, the United States is in a better position to take a leading place in the international movement against cannabis, as it already has in the war against other dangerous drugs.

MARIHUANA IN THE UNITED STATES

Although Indian hemp is not indigenous to the United States, it now grows in practically every section of the coun-

1. League of Nations, Opium Advisory Committee, *Minutes of 19th Session,* November 15 to 28, 1934, p. 29.

2. *Hearings before Committee on Ways and Means,* on H.R. 6385, cited. Statement submitted by H. J. Anslinger, Commissioner of Narcotics, p. 31.

try. It was cultivated during the early colonial days as a fiber for homespun and was found in many parts of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky. Its present wide distribution throughout the country is not accounted for solely by the fact that the plant has reseeded itself. It appears to have been spread, particularly in the southwestern and western states, by itinerant Mexican laborers, who have long indulged in marihuana and have planted secret patches wherever they have infiltrated. Its appearance in city backyards and vacant lots growing wild is often the result of the sweepings of bird cages and seed stores. Bird lovers also sometimes scatter the seed as food. This hemp weed is not usually recognized as cannabis sativa. Nevertheless, unless it is eradicated in this wild state, it remains a source of marihuana to those who discover its narcotic properties.

Cultivation for industrial purposes still exists on some ten thousand acres, mostly in Wisconsin, Illinois, Kentucky and Minnesota. The seed needed for this planting is of Kentucky origin, whereas that used by bird-seed dealers is almost exclusively imported from Manchuria. Many tracts have been discovered all over the country which are being cultivated for illicit purposes. In spite of the activity of the government and state narcotic authorities in burning over these areas, the clandestine cultivation constitutes another source of supply for the dealers and peddlers of marihuana.

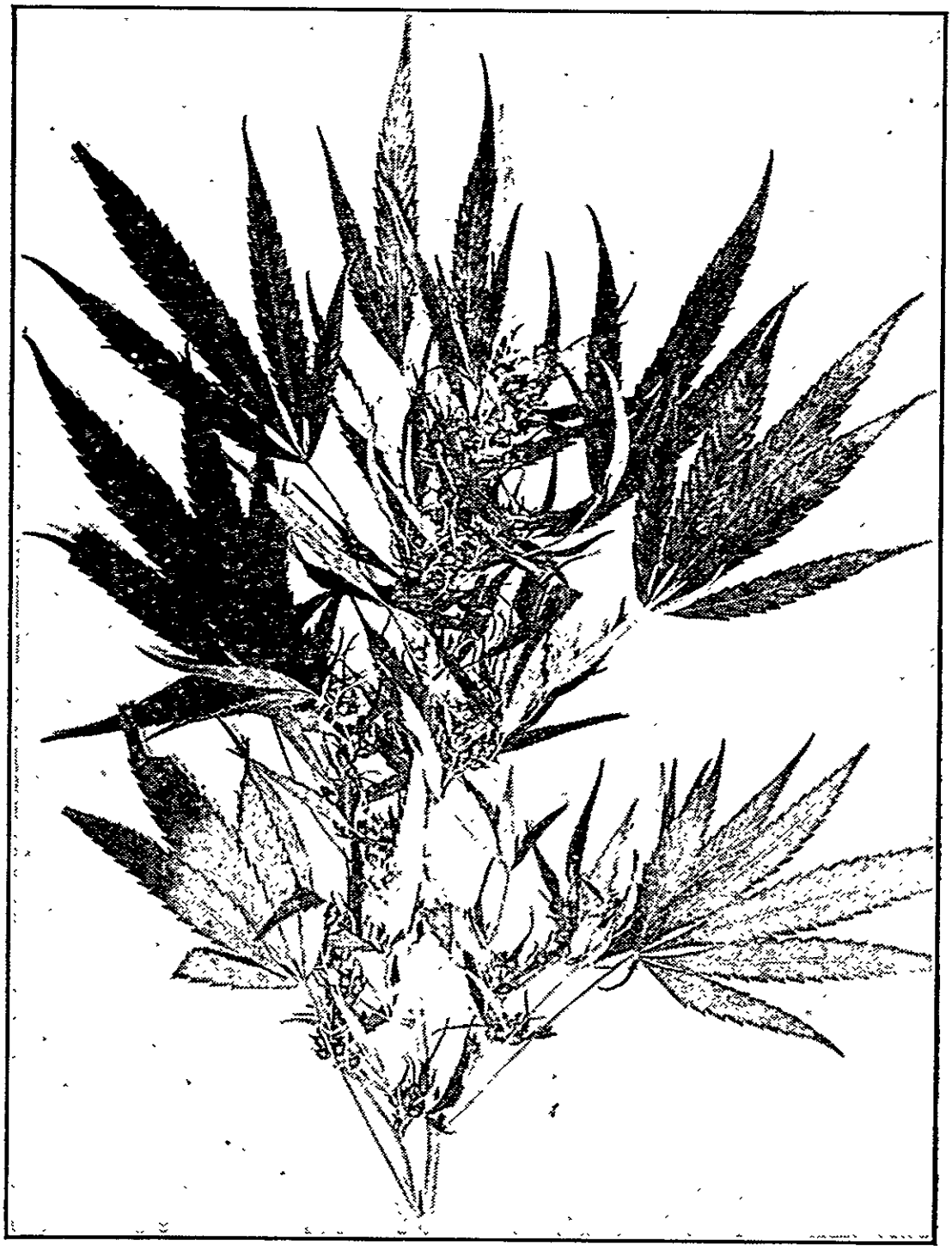
The Indian hemp plant has four commercial uses in the United States. Most important is the production of "soft" fiber, from which commercial twines, rope, hats and certain grades of paper are made. The use of these fibers for textiles and plastics may also be increased in the future. The fibrous stalk is cut down before the plant reaches maturity, consequently little or no resin has developed. The seed contains several industrial products. The seed itself is used as a food for birds, especially pigeons. It produces a drying oil for use in paints, and has a further use in soap and linoleum. Although the hempseed-crushing industry imports from the

Orient many millions of pounds of hempseed for this purpose, it uses quantities of the local variety. The residue of the hempseed after the oil has been extracted is sold in the form of cakes for feeding livestock and for fertilizer. The fourth commercial product comprises the pharmaceutical preparations obtained from the resinous portions of the plant. The medical use of marihuana, however, is very limited. Physicians the world over agree that the variable potency and the unpredictable effect of the drug make it entirely unreliable and prevent its employment in ordinary medicine. The bio-assay of the drug was omitted from the eleventh edition of the United States Pharmacopoeia, while surveys made by the Bureau of Narcotics indicate that the frequency of cannabis prescriptions has dropped to 0.4 per 10,000, or one prescription in every 25,000. It has a doubtful beneficial result as an anti-spasmodic, a relief for neuralgia, and as an aid in psychoanalysis and psychotherapy. In some countries it is believed to be a necessary ingredient in certain corn cures. A leading pharmacist has reported to the Opium Advisory Committee that, as a result of twenty-five years of experimentation and experience, preparations of Indian hemp possess no therapeutic value which cannot be replaced by other drugs.[1] Aside from this very limited and questionable medical use, marihuana has no legitimate purpose.

Its Abuse

The use of marihuana as a narcotic intoxicant has only very recently been a matter of concern in this country. Ten years ago, it was virtually unknown, except among the aforementioned Mexican laborers of the Southwest. Since that time, its use has spread like wildfire to every part of the country, until it has now become a major problem in narcotic enforcement for the Treasury Department. The extent

1. J. Bouquet, cited.



MARIHUANA LEAF AND FLOWER

of its use and the reason for its spread is a matter of conjecture. That morphine and heroin addicts have turned to marihuana because of the increasingly successful world campaign against these drugs is unfounded. According to all police records, marihuana users constitute a new class and an entirely new type of narcotic drug abuse. Whereas the addicts of the white drugs are usually over thirty years of age, the marihuana devotee is considerably younger. It appears that marihuana has been taken up by large numbers of the country's youth as a fad—a new thrill. The curiosity, recklessness and ignorance of these thrill-seekers, abetted by the persistent avarice of the peddlers, have been contributory factors in its sudden popularity. Furthermore, the peddler can retail marihuana cigarettes as low as 5 or 10 cents apiece. Consequently, few have been deterred from buying the drug because of its expense, as has been the case with morphine and heroin. The cheapness of marihuana results, of course, from the availability of the supply and the facility with which it is distributed. Since many states have had different laws and no Federal law existed prior to 1937, it has been difficult to prevent the growth, harvest, possession, and transfer of marihuana. Dealers trafficked across state lines and individual peddlers had access to adequate supplies. Thus, because marihuana was cheap, abundant and was easily and widely distributed, the temptation has been offered again and again to school children and young people everywhere. Giving away free samples and representing the drug as no more harmful than tobacco, the peddler is still hawking his wares from hot-dog stands, in dance halls and poolrooms.

The archives of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics are filled with reports of cases which offer conclusive evidence that the drug is being used by young people with violent and debasing effects. A 16-year-old boy in California was caught about to stage a holdup under the influence of marihuana. In a small Ohio town a 15-year-old boy was found mentally deranged after smoking marihuana cigarettes. Three men

were arrested who had been peddling cigarettes to more than twenty other youths in the town. A 15-year-old Michigan girl ran away from home and was later arrested in a "marihuana den" in Detroit, where she had been lured by her male companions. In 1937 a typical case occurred in Ohio. The report reads:

"A gang of seven young men, all under 20 years of age, who for more than two months terrorized central Ohio with a series of about thirty-eight stick-ups, were arrested in Columbus, Ohio, on robbery charges. They confessed that they operated while 'high' on marihuana.

"One of the youths admitted that he had smoked 'reefers' on and off for at least two years, and said that when he went with the others on stick-ups he was 'ready to tear anybody apart' who opposed him. He claimed the practice of smoking marihuana first started among his friends about four or five years previously, while most of them were still in high school. In describing his crime he said: 'If I had killed somebody on a job, I'd never have known it.' This was verified by the officer obtaining the confessions, who explained that the hardest problem was to get these youths to remember who committed the stick-ups, or when or where they happened. When police told them how a filling station attendant reported that a robber threatened to beat his brains out with a revolver butt, one admitted he was the robber, but had forgotten his own words."

How many people have used marihuana, how many have contracted the habit, and to what extent the illicit traffic has grown, cannot be stated with any degree of accuracy at the present time. No complete records are available; no statistics have been published. The possession and use of the drug is, by nature of its lawlessness, a secret affair. The best indications that the traffic is far-reaching and the use prevalent, are the increased seizures made by state and Federal authorities and the aroused public sentiment against the drug as evidenced by letters to editors, denunciations from the pulpits, activities of social welfare organizations, and the reports and newspaper campaigns in the daily press.

The Bureau of Narcotics in Washington has reported that

386 tons of marihuana products (growing plants, bulk, and cigarettes) were confiscated and destroyed during 1936 in thirty-one states. Violators of marihuana laws numbered 438, of whom 134 were arrested as peddlers, in spite of inadequate laws. Although state authorities are identifying the plant more readily and destroying it before the drug has been harvested, the number of seizures is evidence that considerable marihuana traffic remains.

Further evidence that the problem is a serious one lies in the awakening of public opinion to the menace. Along with concerted efforts within the various states to enact preventive legislation have been numerous appeals to the government for help. Such organizations as Parent-Teachers Associations, General Federation of Women's Clubs and the National Kiwanis have interested themselves in the problem. Many newspapers, notably the *Denver News,* the *Minneapolis Star* and the *Chattanooga News,* have conducted publicity drives against marihuana abuse in their respective cities. Editorials have appeared in many papers, while news accounts of arrests and crimes caused by marihuana indulgence appear almost daily. Typical of the editorials is one from a Michigan paper:

". . . Altogether the most insidious form of the commercial aspects of the dope industry is the campaign to teach boys and girls to 'try' some form of dope. Every State is cursed with peddlers who are attempting to lure youthful victims with cigarettes containing marihuana, a dangerous and powerful narcotic. By this means it is easy to start a fine promising boy or a smart girl on the road which leads with absolute certainty to degeneracy and criminality . . . .

"Laws against all habit forming drugs are necessary. Only in that way can the louts who distribute it be picked up and sent to prison. But parents have no right to assume that the job of preventing the sale of these drugs belongs solely to the public authorities. The way to 'spike' the use of dope is to tell the full facts to growing children. Not one untrue statement is needed. The truth is so horrible and so terrifying in itself that a serious and careful explanation of what happens or may happen to those who even experiment with these hazardous pernicious drugs is sufficient.

"It was a smart trick for the crooks who peddle dope to load cigarettes with the poison. This has made sale and use easy. Parents may well be on their guard. The surest path to physical, mental and moral ruin is that in which dope becomes the allure. One misstep may lead to utter annihilation of everything that makes youth desirable and appealing."

Press (Pontiac, Mich.), February 26, 1937

Distribution

Around the first of September the leaves and flowering tops of the Indian hemp plant are cut down, dried and then crushed together. The green powder or leafy residue is then rolled into cigarettes, which have a variety of colloquial, slang names, such as muggles, reefers, Indian hay, tea, mootos, hot sticks, and goof-butts. The word "marihuana" is Mexican-Indian slang, derived from Mary and Jane. The price per cigarette varies in different sections of the country, ranging from less than 10 to more than 50 cents. Dried marihuana is often sold at about $20 a pound, mostly by the big dealers to the retail peddlers. These peddlers either sell it in small handfuls or make it into cigarettes themselves.

At the present time there is little connection between the marihuana peddlers and the narcotic drug syndicates, and it is very seldom that they handle each other's products. Moreover, unlike the dealers in heroin and morphine, the big and little peddlers of marihuana are not organized into closely knit gangs for the buying and selling of their noxious wares. The distributors of the opium drugs must smuggle their supplies into the country, a dangerous operation which entails heavy penalties. The high price now obtainable for small quantities of heroin and morphine, caused mostly by a real diminution of the legitimate world manufacture of drugs and by a drying up of illicit traffic except in the Orient, necessitates considerable capital outlay and an integrated organization. Connections must be maintained between agents abroad and the local importer, while the distribution is a dangerous game played for high stakes. On the other hand, marihuana

dealers have a domestic source of supply and forward both small and large amounts easily by the ordinary channels of distribution. Often the small peddler has access to a field of marihuana in his community. The selling and buying is an individual affair and rarely a matter of gang operation.

Although there is now no coalition between the peddlers of these two types of drugs, it is entirely possible that the decreased supplies of heroin and morphine may sometime tempt the white drug peddlers to take over the marihuana racket. The Marihuana Tax Act of 1937 severely penalizes any sale or transfer of marihuana made in contravention of its taxing provisions, while many state laws aim directly at eliminating the dealers and peddlers. The illicit morphine dealer has been a Federal law offender since 1914 and, should the profit incentive become greater under the new restrictive measures of the government, the large underworld syndicates might be interested in adding marihuana to the list of poisons they sell for profit.

Marihuana and Crime

The invidious effect of the use of marihuana on the individual in his connection with society is a matter of police records. It is true, of course, that in some cases the drug is only a contributory factor and not the direct cause of the crime. Many individuals with criminal tendencies are marihuana habitués. The drug is widely employed among many members of the underworld to bolster up their courage for contemplated crimes, for the drug often gives the illusion of increased physical strength. Mentally unbalanced people have also used the drug, thus aggravating their condition. There are many other instances, however, in which marihuana has been more than an adjunct to the criminal act—in fact, it has been directly responsible for the crime itself. Certain cases have been culled at random from the files of the United States Bureau of Narcotics to illustrate the homi-

cidal tendencies and generally debasing effects which arise from its use:

NEWARK, N. J. February 1938. Mrs. Ethel Sohl confessed to holding up and killing a bus driver while under the influence of marihuana. Sentenced to life imprisonment.

NEW YORK, N. Y. October 1937. Joseph Ogden, inmate of Tombs Prison, confessed how he murdered his friend George Senical and put his body in a trunk, while under the influence of marihuana.

CLARKSBURG, W. VA. October 1937. Lewis Harris, 26 years of age, arrested for rape of 9-year-old girl while under the influence of marihuana.

COLUMBUS, O. October 1936. A young man was sentenced to the electric chair for the robbing and unprovoked killing of an hotel clerk. He maintained that he was a marihuana addict and was under the influence of the drug when he committed these crimes. The judge of the Court in which he was tried refused to accept this plea as an extenuating circumstance and served notice on smokers of marihuana cigarettes that they cannot escape punishment for crimes committed while under the influence of this narcotic.

HOUSTON, TEXAS. March 1937. Hitch-hiker under influence marihuana murdered motorist.

CHIMAYO, N. MEX. February 1936. Murder committed by two men addicted to use marihuana. Assault with gun made against police officer at time of arrest.

WILMINGTON, DEL. January 1936. Walter Pettyjohn killed John Rhodes while under influence marihuana.

TAMPA, FLA. October 1933. Victor Licata, while under influence marihuana, murdered his mother, father, sister and two brothers with an axe.

OHIO. April 1937. Henry Barnes, on the witness stand for first degree murder, testified that before he and a companion killed a man in a holdup, the pair had smoked three marihuana cigarettes each, and therefore did not know what they were doing. They were both sentenced to life imprisonment.

DETROIT, MICH. January 1937. A marihuana addict characterized as a "dope-mad slayer of a State trooper, the 'brains' of a ruthless kidnap-robbery gang of paroled convicts which he recruited behind the walls of Ionia Prison," was sentenced on January 22, 1937 to life imprisonment. The trooper's body was found manacled to a rural mail post, a bullet through his head. He had been pursuing the criminal for kidnap-robbery of a salesman.

It has been estimated that as many as one-half the violent crimes committed in certain districts inhabited by Mexicans, Filipinos, Latin Americans, Spaniards and Negroes are attributed to marihuana abuse.[1] The emotional temperament of these races appears to become completely unbalanced by the use of this drug. A prosecuting attorney in New Orleans claims 50 per cent of the murders in his city are traced to marihuana. Police authorities all over the country have been dealing with hemp-crazed young men and women who have violated the law under its influence. It was estimated in 1935 that 10 per cent of New York state's narcotic violations were marihuana cases, while 125 of New Orleans' 450 arrests in 1934 were attributed to the same cause. The situation has become so serious that in December of 1937 the executive committee of the Interstate Commission on Crime met in open session to study a way to curb marihuana.

Many prosecuting attorneys, particularly in the Southwest, have often been confronted with the defense that, at the time of the commission of the criminal act, the defendant was "temporarily insane" because he was under the influence of marihuana to such a degree that he was unable to appreciate the difference between right and wrong.[2] Such a case was New Jersey's sensational murder mentioned above. Mrs. Sohl's testimony brought out, however, that she had committed other crimes after smoking marihuana cigarettes. It is highly significant that her plea of "marihuana madness" as an extenuating circumstance was rejected by the jury, who returned a verdict of first-degree murder, and by the judge who sentenced her to life imprisonment. Users of marihuana, who employ it before committing criminal acts, or who commit such acts because of its effects, should note well that this is an invalid defense. The peddler also is morally responsible

1. League of Nations, Opium Advisory Committee, O.C. 1542 (c), Addendum, November 10, 1934.

2. Eugene Stanley, *Marihuana as a Developer of Criminals,* New Orleans, La., House Hearings on H.R. 6385, p. 37.

for a crime committed by an individual to whom he has sold the drug. Both the criminal and the peddler should receive maximum penalties if society is to be protected from these violent marihuana crimes.

Courtney Ryley Cooper, in a book entitled *Here's to Crime,* graphically describes the criminal phase of the marihuana problem:

"The use of marihuana has spread within the last few years so rapidly as to constitute a menace which should receive the attention of every thinking parent in America. Peddlers sell it at two cigarettes for a quarter in the vicinity of schools. Apartments are run by ghoul-minded women; in such apartments high-school students gather on the promise that reefer-smoking will put music in their souls and a release from all moral restraint; nothing is said about eventual insanity. Practically every major school scandal in the last few years, and several killings in which young persons have been involved, have been traced to this drug. . . .

"A sixteen-year-old boy, caught in a Sacramento burglary was 'high' on marihuana. Two California men were sent to prison for cultivating the marihuana habit among boys. There were revelations in San Francisco that an owner of a taxicab service was delivering marihuana to hotel parties. The weed was purchased by a young girl on the streets from peddlers who worked the sidewalks, hotels and beer taverns. There was an axe murder by a Florida boy who, in butchering his family while crazed by marihuana, brought about the passage of a Uniform Narcotics Drug Act. One finds the history of a crime wave in Huerfano, Colorado, including an attempt to kill the sheriff, carried on by smokers of marihuana and not broken up until the source of supply was found and destroyed. . . .

"To these incidents should be added an estimate that of a group of four hundred and fifty young persons in a Southern city, one hundred and twenty-five were addicted to the use of reefers; that police in Baltimore were called to investigate the selling of 'muggles' to high-school boys and girls; that the defense of a Maryland killer, sentenced to hang for the rape of a ten-year-old child, was that he was crazed from smoking marihuana cigarettes. On and on goes the gruesome story; the use of 'reefers' has grown so swiftly that it has all but enveloped America without the average citizen even being aware of the fact."

The statement has been made, supported by statistics of the Department of Justice, that the narcotic law violator is a major criminal in this country. The abuse of marihuana by school children, vagrant youths, criminal characters of the underworld and various irresponsible individuals is now a recognized menace. It has increased the occupancy of the country's penitentiaries and insane asylums and added greatly to the cost of crime prevention. It has a general debasing effect on the moral standards of every city and town. It is recently being advanced as the cause of the alarming increase in the so-called sex crimes in the last few years. What has been done in the past, and what new restrictions are being applied to curb this growing evil?

Legislation with Respect to Marihuana

Congress is restricted under the Constitution from enacting legislation which trespasses on matters lying within the police jurisdiction of the states, except when the United States is so obligated under the terms of an international treaty. Consequently, the production, possession and use of marihuana, for improper or non-medical purposes, cannot be prohibited directly by a Federal statute based on police power which the government does not possess.[1] Nevertheless, the government can apply internal revenue measures, which have an indirect controlling effect. Such was the Harrison Narcotic Act of 1914 which, however, dealt only with opium, coca leaves and their derivatives, marihuana not being considered a drug of abuse at that time. In 1929 Congress recognized it as a deleterious, "habit-forming" drug when it passed an act to establish two United States Narcotic Farms to confine and treat "habit-forming narcotic drug" violators. Indian hemp[2] and its derivatives and prep-

1. It was noted before that the United States has signed no international treaty with respect to marihuana.

2. H. R. 13645, Public, No. 672, 70th Congress, approved January 19, 1929.

arations were included in the act's definition of narcotic drugs.

For some time prior to 1930, the need for uniform state laws to afford a complete measure of control over the interstate traffic in dangerous drugs in general was widely accepted. Under this country's dual system of government, it was considered that the Federal function regarding narcotic law enforcement should be limited to the detection and elimination of large wholesale sources of illicit supply within the states. The states themselves should attend to the ordinary police work of preventing the retail sale and of controlling generally the abuse of drugs. But in respect to marihuana, the state regulations were neither adequate nor uniform. Some states had no laws whatsoever regarding marihuana, while others prohibited only the sale. Under certain state laws a peddler apprehended in selling doped cigarettes was liable only to 60 days in jail or a $25 fine. No centralized information regarding the traffic existed; no integrated movement could be made against the problem as a whole. Although the Federal and local authorities cooperated to some degree, the former lacked jurisdiction, the latter information and experience.[1] The various state authorities forwarded certain statistics regarding arrests and seizures to the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, but the aforesaid inadequacies invalidated these as a true indication of either the extent of the traffic, the effectiveness of local authorities, or the need for more stringent measures. This anomalous situation, coupled with defective and poorly enforced laws in some states and the non-existence of control in others, left a "twilight zone" of non-enforcement, detrimental to preventive efforts.

1. Until very recently the state authorities had great difficulty in recognizing and identifying the marihuana plant. The Bureau of Narcotics will shortly issue a series of microphotographs of the plant and its seeds, which will greatly aid in its identification. These pictures, showing the structure of the plant and its component parts under the high magnification of the microscope, are the first ever published.

Accordingly, in 1932 a Uniform Narcotic Drug Act was drafted by the Conference of Commissioners on uniform state laws. Representatives of the United States Public Health Service, the American Medical Association, the drug manufacturers and retailers were consulted, and the American Bar Association approved the final draft. The Act contained a special clause on cannabis, and provided for its inclusion in the Act, should the state legislatures so desire. Organizations interested in the problem were helpful everywhere in influencing action by the states. By the end of 1937 every state had some prohibitory marihuana legislation, although only thirty had included the cannabis provision when they adopted the Uniform Narcotic Drug Act. The activities of the Federal narcotic authorities in providing for better state laws on narcotics is an excellent example of the way in which Federal officials can lead public opinion and assist the states in drafting legislation without infringing on their rights.

In spite of the enactment by many states of uniform narcotic laws, there were still loopholes by which marihuana traffickers could evade the law. Uniformity with regard to marihuana legislation was still lacking. Of those states which had not included cannabis in the Uniform Act, some had gone beyond the Act's provisions and prohibited cultivation; others had fallen short of these measures. It was discovered that the definition of cannabis in the Act needed to be enlarged to include the male plant in addition to the leaves. Interstate commerce in marihuana was uncontrolled. In the absence of Federal laws, the government's narcotic agents could not fully apply their specialized knowledge and information. The preventive efforts of the states needed to be correlated by the government. This looseness of control over a dangerous narcotic produced in every section of the country brought demands for a unified and strict Federal supervision. Five states requested government aid, while police authorities everywhere acknowledged the need of

closer cooperation with Federal agents. In view of these facts, the Marihuana Tax Act was presented to Congress in April 1937, and enacted into law several months later.

The Marihuana Tax Act of 1937[1] is not a regulatory, but an internal revenue measure. Its indirect effect should be to limit the use of the drug to proper medical channels and render its acquisition by persons who would put it to illicit uses virtually impossible. The Act limits the control exercised over the producers of cannabis sativa and those who process the plant for fibre, oil, seed cake or bird seed[2] by excluding in the definition of marihuana the mature stalk, the oil, the sterilized seeds, and preparations made from the seeds. All legitimate dealers, whether importers, producers, physicians, scientists or others must register and pay an occupational tax to the government. This should provide the government with information regarding the production and transfer of marihuana for all purposes, and publicize the dealings in this commodity.

For the dealer who has not registered and paid the special tax to the government, a $100 per ounce tax is levied on all transfers of marihuana. Inability to produce evidence of the payment of this tax, or failure to register every sale, makes the vendor liable to prosecution. Penalties run as high as two years in prison or $5,000 fine, or both.

Anyone who grows marihuana, which is defined in the Act as certain parts of cannabis sativa, without registering and paying a tax, is breaking the law unless he is raising it for scientific purposes and does not transfer it to anyone else. In general, the law provides that no transfer or growth of marihuana can take place unless there is government registration. Lacking this, a prohibitive tax must be paid. Non-observance of the control and taxation features of the Act is subject to severe punishment.

1. Cf. Annex III, pp. 42-48.
2. Bird-seed manufacturers agreed to sterilize all hemp-seed.

The present Federal law is more inclusive in its definition of marihuana than either the Uniform State Narcotic Drug Act or the Geneva Drug Convention of 1925. Moreover, the new Federal law enables the United States to submit to the Opium Advisory Committee reports concerning the trend of the illicit traffic in cannabis within its borders. It constitutes a most interesting experiment in the government control of a raw material, abuse of which is harmful to public welfare. Should any breakdown in the cooperative machinery for international control of raw opium occur in the future, the United States might be forced into the position of having to grow within its own borders the raw material it now imports to supply its legitimate drug manufacture. The successful operation of the Marihuana Tax Act would then be a most significant guide in applying government control over domestic opium production for legitimate purposes.

It is too early to predict the success of the recent Federal legislation against marihuana. Since it is closely patterned, however, after the Harrison Narcotic Act and the National Firearms Act, both of which have to a large extent fulfilled their purpose, there is every reason to believe that eventually the abuse of marihuana will diminish. The Bureau of Narcotics of the Treasury Department is in charge of the enforcement of the Marihuana Act, and functions also as an informal coordinating agency in the application of the uniform state narcotic laws. The Federal and state laws together now close the last gap in the legislation against the abuse of marihuana. With the experience and information of the Federal narcotic agents behind the local authorities, violators can now be more easily apprehended. Moreover, the clearly defined Federal laws will enable judges to convict and mete out the severe sentences that marihuana peddlers deserve.

One noteworthy effect of the Act, which became noticeable shortly after its enactment, is the tendency of wholesale druggists to withdraw tablets and pills containing mari-

huana from the market. Their infrequent use in medicine, coupled with the regulatory provisions of the Act, has discouraged pharmaceutical firms from keeping stocks of marihuana drugs on hand.

The Federal government and the state authorities by themselves cannot successfully combat the marihuana evil. The abuse has become so widespread that it should no longer be the policy to shroud the drug in mystery. Educators and socially minded people everywhere should disseminate the facts concerning marihuana and its noxious effects. Parents should be alive to the possibility that it may find its way into their children's schools and recreational centers. The drug is every bit as dangerous in certain of its effects as morphine and heroin. The use of marihuana as a narcotic intoxicant must be stamped out.

Annex I

The hemp plant is an annual growing each year from the seed. It has an upright stalk which attains a height of 3 to 16 feet—usually about 4 to 6 feet tall. This stalk attains a thickness of one-half to two inches, usually one-half inch in diameter or less under crowded conditions. The stalk is more or less fluted or 4-cornered ridged which run lengthwise with the stem. The stem may have well-marked nodes which occur at 4- to 20-inch intervals. When planted for fiber production, the stalks are crowded and are without foliage except for a foot or two at the very top. The wild plant growing in fence rows or an occasional uncrowded plant along the edge of a field, has numerous short branches which have compound palmate leaves which have 5 to 11 leaflets or lobes, usually 7 (somewhat similar to the shape of a hand with the fingers being leaflets). These leaflets or lobes are pointed at both ends and are from 2 to 6 inches long and about one inch wide. Hemp has two sexes. In mature plants both male plants and female plants can be distinguished. The female flowers are inconspicuous and are found among the small leaves at the ends of branches. The male plant

shows very visible flowers which shed pollen profusely when they are mature. The seeds when mature may be dark in color or distinctly mottled. They are the size of a large wheat kernel, but nearly round. (Bureau of Plant Industry, United States Department of Agriculture.)

Annex II

MARIHUANA IDENTIFICATION TESTS

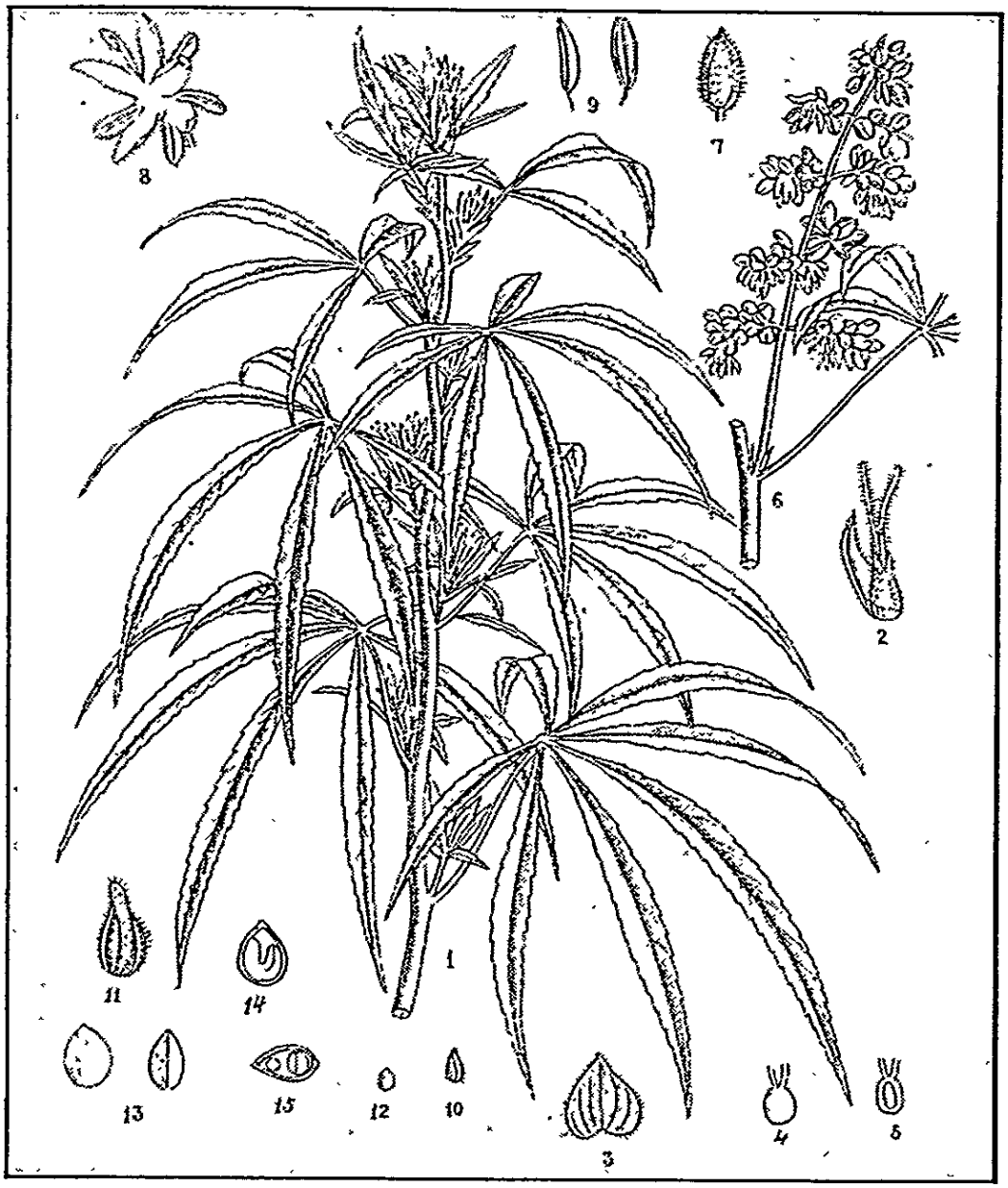
In the majority of cases marihuana can be detected by microscopic examination. Many parts of the plant, such as the seeds, bracts and leaves can be easily identified. However, the extracts and the residues from evaporation of tinctures and fluid extracts have often failed to show characteristic plant tissues to permit complete identification. Consequently, several methods of chemical identification have been developed. These chemical tests have not proved entirely infallible, and are not herein included. The Bureau of Narcotics is now carrying on extensive experiments to perfect a chemical means of identification.

a. Microscopic Identification

The general procedure in the examination of a suspected sample of *cannabis sativa* (marihuana) is as follows:

Using a coarse magnifying glass, approximately 12 diameters, look for the characteristic green leaves covered with innumerable white pimples. In an ordinary cannabis cigarette or in a sample of the powdered drug there will be found bits of leaves, parts of broken seed or stems, and small seed bracts. Most of this material is covered with an enormous amount of fine hairs, the character of which is not clear under this low magnification. However, the leaves and stems, and parts of the seed particularly, have their characteristic points. The seeds, for instance, are rather thick walled and have characteristic markings; the color ranges from green to brown, depending on their ripeness. They resemble small melons. When the seed is crushed, it is found to contain a solid mass of white fat-like substance, somewhat like cocoanut meat.

For examination under higher power, typical pieces of the suspected sample are moistened and flattened on a microscopic slide and pressed down with a cover glass. Under a magnification of over a hundred times, many of the more intimate characteristics of the drug can be seen. There is found the one-celled, more or less



CANNABIS SATIVA, *LINN.*

(*Drawn from specimens grown in Kew Gardens, New York*)

1. upper part of a female plant; 2. a female flower; 3. perianth unrolled; 4. ovary; 5. section of the same; 6. a male penicle; 7. a bud; 8. a male flower; 9. stamens; 10, 11. fruit surrounded with the persistent perianth; 12, 13. fruit; 14. vertical; 15. transverse section of the fruit.

(2-5, 7-9, 11, 13-15 enlarged)

curved, non-glandular hairs. At the base of most of these hairs are found small deposits of calcium carbonate. There are two other types of hairs of the glandular type, less numerous: a short unicellular or multicellular stalk, and a stalk which has an 8- to 16-cell glandular head. Deposits of resin are also found on the surface, easily seen by the microscope, and occasionally small pockets of pollen grains are revealed, which can be shaken out by tapping the cones.

The next convenient test to make is to insert a few drops of strong hydrochloric acid under the cover glass and watch carefully for the effervescence caused by the breaking up of the calcium carbonate deposits. This is an unfailing characteristic of the drug.

Some beautiful specimens of mounted slides can be made by boiling the crude material quite thoroughly with a concentrated solution of chloral hydrate, and washing. This clears up the parts, and the structure can be very easily seen when it is mounted on slides and pressed down with cover glasses. In this manner the characteristic cells and hairs can be studied to their best advantage.

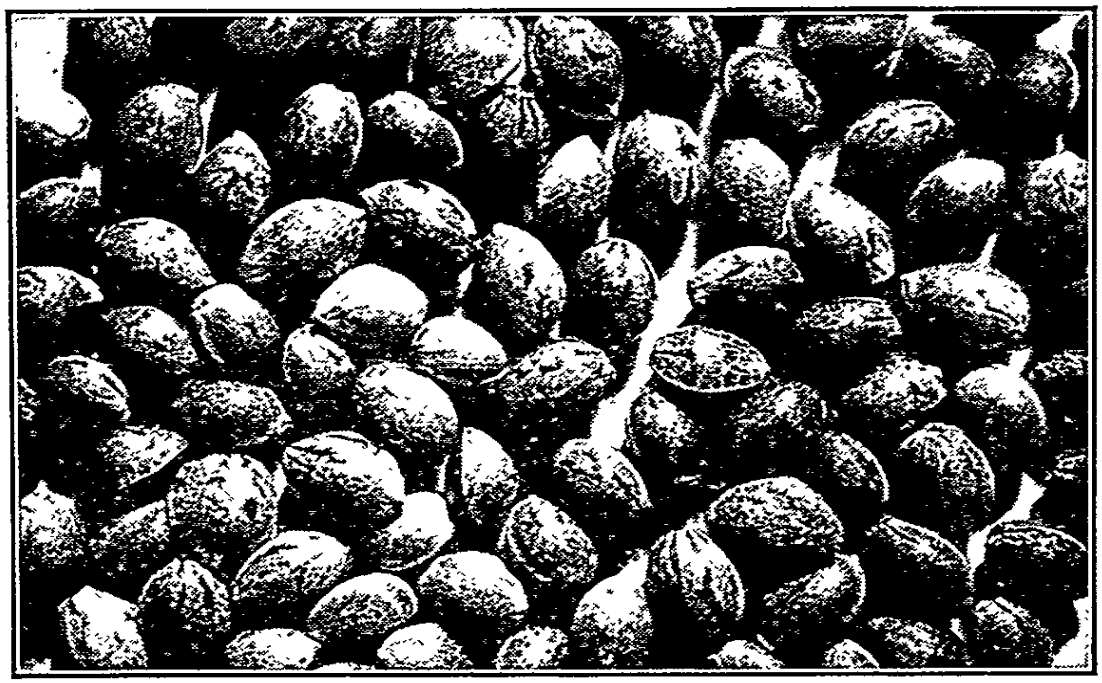
b. Identification of Marihuana in Cigarettes

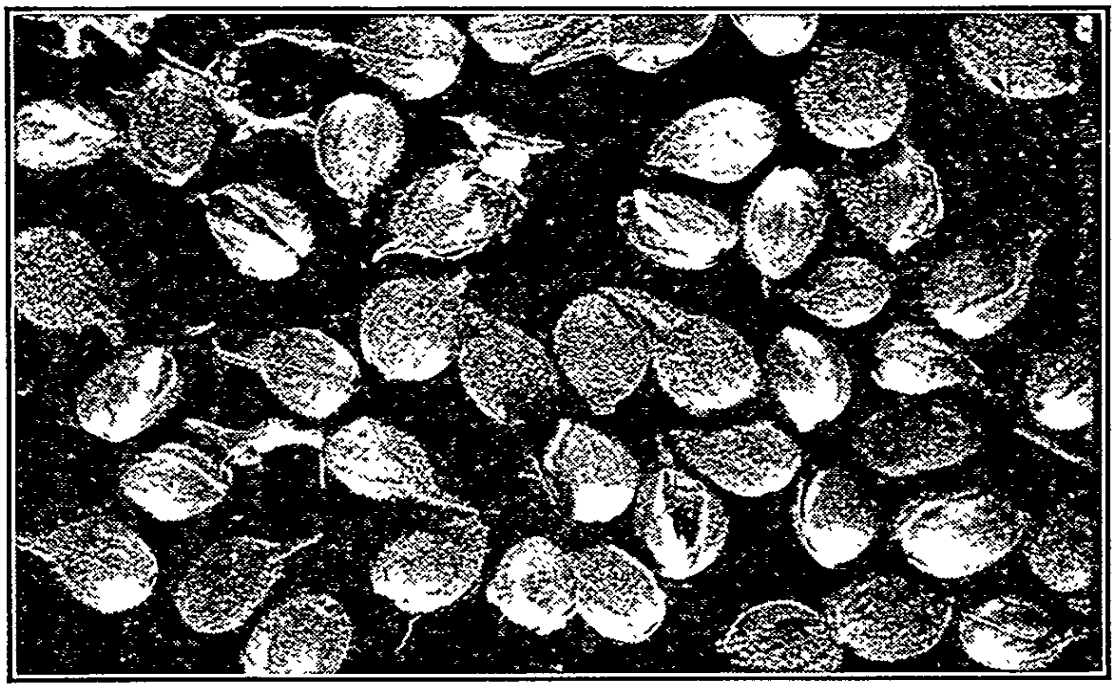
Attach a suspected cigarette to a small test tube, or cylinder, with an ordinary paper clip, and with the aid of a small funnel pour 5 cc. (1 thimble full) of petroleum ether into one end of the cigarette so that the liquid flows through the interior of the cigarette, extracting the filler on its way.

1. Pour about half of this extract into a small white porcelain dish and evaporate, add to the evaporated portion a few drops of Solution No. 1 (1% KOH in alcohol). The residue in the dish should become purple in a minute or so, and the color deepens gradually on standing.

or

2. Add to the remainder of the solution in a test tube about 1 cc. of Solution No. 2 (Absolute alcohol, saturated with HCL gas) and shake, allow to settle. The lower layer should be distinctly pink.





Microphotographs courtesy of Bureau of Narcotics

SEEDS (above) and SEED COVERINGS
Cannabis Sativa L.

Under this magnification, the characteristic markings of the seed and the hairy outer surface of the seed coverings are plainly visible.

Annex III The Marihuana Tax Act of 1937

PUBLIC—NO. 238—75TH CONGRESS; CHAPTER 553—1ST SESSION; H. R. 6906

AN ACT

To impose an occupational excise tax upon certain dealers in marihuana, to impose a transfer tax upon certain dealings in marihuana, and to safeguard the revenue therefrom by registry and recording.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That when used in this Act—

(a) The term "person" means an individual, a partnership, trust, association, company, or corporation and includes an officer or employee of a trust, association, company, or corporation, or a member or employee of a partnership, who, as such officer, employee, or member, is under a duty to perform any act in respect of which any violation of this Act occurs.

(b) The term "marihuana" means all parts of the plant Cannabis sativa L., whether growing or not; the seeds thereof; the resin extracted from any part of such plant; and every compound, manufacture, salt, derivative, mixture, or preparation of such plant, its seeds, or resin; but shall not include the mature stalks of such plant, fiber produced from such stalks, oil or cake made from the seeds of such plant, any other compound, manufacture, salt, derivative, mixture, or preparation of such mature stalks (except the resin extracted therefrom), fiber, oil, or cake, or the sterilized seed of such plant which is incapable of germination.

(c) The term "producer" means any person who (1) plants, cultivates, or in any way facilitates the natural growth of marihuana, or (2) harvests and transfers or makes use of marihuana.

(d) The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of the Treasury and the term "collector" means collector of internal revenue.

(e) The term "transfer" or "transferred" means any type of disposition resulting in a change of possession but shall not include a transfer to a common carrier for the purpose of transporting marihuana.

SEC. 2 (a) Every person who imports, manufactures, produces, compounds, sells, deals in, dispenses, prescribes, administers, or gives away marihuana shall (1) within fifteen days after the effective date of this Act, or (2) before engaging after the expiration of such fifteen-day period in any of the above-mentioned activities, and (3) thereafter, on or before July 1 of each year, pay the following special taxes respectfully:

(1) Importers, manufacturers, and compounders of marihuana, $24 per year.

(2) Producers of marihuana (except those included within subdivision (4) of this subsection), $1 per year, or fraction thereof, during which they engage in such activity.

(3) Physicians, dentists, veterinary surgeons, and other practitioners who distribute, dispense, give away, administer, or prescribe marihuana to patients upon whom they in the course of their professional practice are in attendance, $1 per year or fraction thereof during which they engage in any of such activities.

(4) Any person not registered as an importer, manufacturer, producer, or compounder who obtains and uses marihuana in a laboratory for the purpose of research, instruction, or analysis, or who produces marihuana for any such purpose, $1 per year, or fraction thereof, during which he engages in such activities.

(5) Any person who is not a physician, dentist, veterinary surgeon, or other practitioner and who deals in, dispenses, or gives away marihuana, $3 per year: *Provided,* That any person who has registered and paid the special tax as an importer, manufacturer, compounder, or producer, as required by subdivisions (1) and (2) of this subsection, may deal in, dispense, or give away marihuana imported, manufactured, compounded, or produced by him without further payment of the tax imposed by this section.

(b) Where a tax under subdivision (1) or (5) is payable on July 1 of any year it shall be computed for one year; where any such tax is payable on any other day it shall be computed proportionately from the first day of the month in which the liability for the tax accrued to the following July 1.

(c) In the event that any person subject to a tax imposed by this section engages in any of the activities enumerated in subsection (a) of this section at more than one place, such person shall pay the tax with respect to each such place.

(d) Except as otherwise provided, whenever more than one of the activities enumerated in subsection (a) of this section is carried on by the same person at the same time, such person shall pay the tax for each such activity, according to the respective rates prescribed.

(e) Any person subject to the tax imposed by this section shall, upon payment of such tax, register his name or style and his place or places of business with the collector of the district in which such place or places of business are located.

(f) Collectors are authorized to furnish, upon written request, to any person a certified copy of the names of any or all persons who may be listed in their respective collection districts as special taxpayers under this section, upon payment of a fee of $1 for each one hundred of such names or fraction thereof upon such copy so requested.

SEC. 3. (a) No employee of any person who has paid the special tax and registered, as required by section 2 of this Act, acting within the scope of his employment, shall be required to register and pay such special tax.

(b) An officer or employee of the United States, any State, Territory, the District of Columbia, or insular possession, or political subdivision, who, in the exercise of his official duties, engages in any of the activities enumerated in section 2 of this Act shall not be required to register or pay the special tax, but his right to this exemption shall be evidenced in such manner as the Secretary may by regulations prescribe.

SEC. 4. (a) It shall be unlawful for any person required to register and pay the special tax under the provisions of section 2 to import, manufacture, produce, compound, sell, deal in, dispense, distribute, prescribe, administer, or give away marihuana without having so registered and paid such tax.

(b) In any suit or proceeding to enforce the liability imposed by this section or section 2, if proof is made that marihuana was at any time growing upon land under the control of the defendant, such proof shall be presumptive evidence that at such time the defendant was a producer and liable under this section as well as under section 2.

SEC. 5. It shall be unlawful for any person who shall not have paid the special tax and registered, as required by section 2, to send, ship, carry, transport, or deliver any marihuana within any Territory, the District of Columbia, or any insular possession, or from any State, Territory, the District of Columbia, any insular possession of the United States, or the Canal Zone, into any other State, Territory, the District of Columbia, or insular possession

of the United States: *Provided,* That nothing contained in this section shall apply to any common carrier engaged in transporting marihuana; or to any employee of any person who shall have registered and paid the special tax as required by section 2 while acting within the scope of his employment; or to any person who shall deliver marihuana which has been prescribed or dispensed by a physician, dentist, veterinary surgeon, or other practitioner registered under section 2, who has been employed to prescribe for the particular patient receiving such marihuana; or to any United States, State, county, municipal, District, Territorial, or insular officer or official acting within the scope of his official duties.

SEC. 6. (a) It shall be unlawful for any person, whether or not required to pay a special tax and register under section 2, to transfer marihuana, except in pursuance of a written order of the person to whom such marihuana is transferred, on a form to be issued in blank for that purpose by the Secretary.

(b) Subject to such regulations as the Secretary may prescribe, nothing contained in this section shall apply—

(1) To a transfer of marihuana to a patient by a physician, dentist, veterinary surgeon, or other practitioner registered under section 2, in the course of his professional practice only: *Provided,* That such physician, dentist, veterinary surgeon, or other practitioner shall keep a record of all such marihuana transferred, showing the amount transferred and the name and address of the patient to whom such marihuana is transferred, and such record shall be kept for a period of two years from the date of the transfer of such marihuana, and subject to inspection as provided in section 11.

(2) To a transfer of marihuana, made in good faith by a dealer to a consumer under and in pursuance of a written prescription issued by a physician, dentist, veterinary surgeon, or other practitioner registered under section 2: *Provided,* That such prescription shall be dated as of the day on which signed and shall be signed by the physician, dentist, veterinary surgeon, or other practitioner who issues the same: *Provided further,* That such dealer shall preserve such prescription for a period of two years from the day on which such prescription is filled so as to be readily accessible for inspection by the officers, agents, employees, and officials mentioned in section 11.

(3) To the sale, exportation, shipment, or delivery of marihuana by any person within the United States, any Territory, the District of Columbia, or any of the insular possessions of the United States, to any person in any foreign country regulating the entry of marihuana, if such sale, shipment, or delivery of marihuana is made in accordance with such regulations for importation into such foreign country as are prescribed by such foreign country, such regulations to be promulgated from time to time by the Secretary of State of the United States.

(4) To a transfer of marihuana to any officer or employee of the United States Government or of any State, Territorial, District, county, or municipal or insular government lawfully engaged in making purchases thereof for the various departments of the Army and Navy, the Public Health Service, and for Government, State, Territorial, District, county, or municipal or insular hospitals or prisons.

(5) To a transfer of any seeds of the plant Cannabis sativa L. to any person registered under section 2.

(c) The Secretary shall cause suitable forms to be prepared for the pur-

poses before mentioned and shall cause them to be distributed to collectors for sale. The price at which such forms shall be sold by said collectors shall be fixed by the Secretary, but shall not exceed 2 cents each. Whenever any collector shall sell any of such forms he shall cause the date of sale, the name and address of the proposed vendor, the name and address of the purchaser, and the amount of marihuana ordered to be plainly written or stamped thereon before delivering the same.

(d) Each such order form sold by a collector shall be prepared by him and shall include an original and two copies, any one of which shall be admissible in evidence as an original. The original and one copy shall be given by the collector to the purchaser thereof. The original shall in turn be given by the purchaser thereof to any person who shall in pursuance thereof, transfer marihuana to him and shall be preserved by such person for a period of two years so as to be readily accessible for inspection by any officer, agent, or employee mentioned in section 11. The copy given to the purchaser by the collector shall be retained by the purchaser and preserved for a period of two years so as to be readily accessible to inspection by any officer, agent, or employee mentioned in section 11. The second copy shall be preserved in the records of the collector.

SEC. 7. (a) There shall be levied, collected, and paid upon all transfers of marihuana which are required by section 6 to be carried out in pursuance of written order forms taxes at the following rates:

(1) Upon each transfer to any person who has paid the special tax and registered under section 2 of this Act, $1 per ounce of marihuana or fraction thereof.

(2) Upon each transfer to any person who has not paid the special tax and registered under section 2 of this Act, $100 per ounce of marihuana or fraction thereof.

(b) Such tax shall be paid by the transferee at the time of securing each order form and shall be in addition to the price of such form. Such transferee shall be liable for the tax imposed by this section but in the event that the transfer is made in violation of section 6 without an order form and without payment of the transfer tax imposed by this section, the transferor shall also be liable for such tax.

(c) Payment of the tax herein provided shall be represented by appropriate stamps to be provided by the Secretary and said stamps shall be affixed by the collector or his representative to the original order form.

(d) All provisions of law relating to the engraving, issuance, sale, accountability, cancelation, and destruction of tax-paid stamps provided for in the internal-revenue laws shall, insofar as applicable and not inconsistent with this Act, be extended and made to apply to stamps provided for in this section.

(e) All provisions of law (including penalties) applicable in respect of the taxes imposed by the Act of December 17, 1914 (38 Stat. 785; U. S. C., 1934 ed., title 26, secs. 1040-1061, 1383-1391), as amended, shall, insofar as not inconsistent with this Act, be applicable in respect of the taxes imposed by this Act.

SEC. 8. (a) It shall be unlawful for any person who is a transferee required to pay the transfer tax imposed by section 7 to acquire or otherwise obtain any marihuana without having paid such tax; and proof that any person shall have had in his possession any marihuana and shall have failed,

after reasonable notice and demand by the collector, to produce the order form required by section 6 to be retained by him, shall be presumptive evidence of guilt under this section and of liability for the tax imposed by section 7.

(b) No liability shall be imposed by virtue of this section upon any duly authorized officer of the Treasury Department engaged in the enforcement of this Act or upon any duly authorized officer of any State, or Territory, or of any political subdivision thereof, or the District of Columbia, or of any insular possession of the United States, who shall be engaged in the enforcement of any law or municipal ordinance dealing with the production, sale, prescribing, dispensing, dealing in, or distributing of marihuana.

SEC. 9. (a) Any marihuana which has been imported, manufactured, compounded, transferred, or produced in violation of any of the provisions of this Act shall be subject to seizure and forfeiture and, except as inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, all the provisions of internal-revenue laws relating to searches, seizures, and forfeitures are extended to include marihuana.

(b) Any marihuana which may be seized by the United States Government from any person or persons charged with any violation of this Act shall upon conviction of the person or persons from whom seized be confiscated by and forfeited to the United States.

(c) Any marihuana seized or coming into the possession of the United States in the enforcement of this Act, the owner or owners of which are unknown, shall be confiscated by and forfeited to the United States.

(d) The Secretary is hereby directed to destroy any marihuana confiscated by and forfeited to the United States under this section or to deliver such marihuana to any department, bureau, or other agency of the United States Government, upon proper application therefor under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary.

SEC. 10. (a) Every person liable to any tax imposed by this Act shall keep such books and records, render under oath such statements, make such returns, and comply with such rules and regulations as the Secretary may from time to time prescribe.

(b) Any person who shall be registered under the provisions of section 2 in any internal-revenue district shall, whenever required so to do by the collector of the district, render to the collector a true and correct statement or return, verified by affidavits, setting forth the quantity of marihuana received or harvested by him during such period immediately preceding the demand of the collector, not exceeding three months, as the said collector may fix and determine. If such person is not solely a producer, he shall set forth in such statement or return the names of the persons from whom said marihuana was received, the quantity in each instance received from such persons, and the date when received.

SEC. 11. The order forms and copies thereof and the prescriptions and records required to be preserved under the provisions of section 6, and the statements or returns filed in the office of the collector of the district under the provisions of section 10 (b) shall be open to inspection by officers, agents, and employees of the Treasury Department duly authorized for that purpose, and such officers of any State, or Territory, or of any political subdivision thereof, or the District of Columbia, or of any insular possession of the United States as shall be charged with the enforcement of any law or

municipal ordinance regulating the production, sale, prescribing, dispensing, dealing in, or distributing of marihuana. Each collector shall be authorized to furnish, upon written request, copies of any of the said statements or returns filed in his office to any of such officials of any State or Territory, or political subdivision thereof, or the District of Columbia, or any insular possession of the United States as shall be entitled to inspect the said statements or returns filed in the office of the said collector, upon the payment of a fee of $1 for each 100 words or fraction thereof in the copy or copies so requested.

SEC. 12. Any person who is convicted of a violation of any provision of this Act shall be fined not more than $2,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 13. It shall not be necessary to negative any exemptions set forth in this Act in any complaint, information, indictment, or other writ or proceeding laid or bought under this Act and the burden of proof of any such exemption shall be upon the defendant. In the absence of the production of evidence by the defendant that he has complied with the provisions of section 2 relating to registration or that he has complied with the provisions of section 6 relating to order forms, he shall be presumed not to have complied with such provisions of such sections, as the case may be.

SEC. 14. The Secretary is authorized to make, prescribe, and publish all necessary rules and regulations for carrying out the provisions of this Act and to confer or impose any of the rights, privileges, powers, and duties conferred or imposed upon him by this Act upon such officers or employees of the Treasury Department as he shall designate or appoint.

SEC. 15. The provisions of this Act shall apply to the several States, the District of Columbia, the Territory of Alaska, the Territory of Hawaii, and the insular possessions of the United States, except the Philippine Islands. In Puerto Rico the administration of this Act, the collection of the special taxes and transfer taxes, and the issuance of the order forms provided for in section 6 shall be performed by the appropriate internal-revenue officers of that government, and all revenues collected under this Act in Puerto Rico shall accrue intact to the general government thereof. The President is hereby authorized and directed to issue such Executive orders as will carry into effect in the Virgin Islands the intent and purpose of this Act by providing for the registration with appropriate officers and the imposition of the special and transfer taxes upon all persons in the Virgin Islands who import, manufacture, produce, compound, sell, deal in, dispense, prescribe, administer, or give away marihuana.

SEC. 16. If any provision of this Act or the application thereof to any person or circumstances is held invalid, the remainder of the Act and the application of such provision to other persons or circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

SEC. 17. This Act shall take effect on the first day of the second month after the month during which it is enacted.

SEC. 18. This Act may be cited as the "Marihuana Tax Act of 1937."

Approved, August 2, 1937.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

W. B. O'Shaughnessy, *On the Preparations of Indian Hemp, or Ganja,* London, 1838.

Dr. J. Moreau, *Hashish and Mental Alienation,* Paris, 1845.

Charles Richet, *Intellectual Poisons,* Paris, 1877, Chapter IV.

H. S. Williams, M.D., "An Overdose of Cannabis Indica," *Therapeutic Gazette,* 1885.

Baudelaire, *Artificial Paradise—Hashish.*

Indian Hemp Drugs Commission, 1893-1894.

Charles Binet-Langle, "Effect of Hashish on Neurons," *Revue Scientific,* Paris, 1901.

J. M. Ronlin, *Laughter and Exhilarants,* Paris, 1900.

Church and Peterson, *Nervous and Mental Diseases,* 1908.

Rodrigues, Doria, "The Smokers of Maconha: Effects and Evils of the Vice," *Revista Americana,* November 1916

R. L. E. Downes, M.D., "Cannabis Indica in Smoking Tobacco," *British Medical Journal,* 1923.

Charles W. Burr, "Two Cases of Cannabis Intoxication," *Therapeutic Gazette,* 1916, Volume 40.

Dhunjiboy, "Indian Hemp Insanity," *Journal of Mental Science,* 1930.

Pascal Brotteaux, *Hashish, Weed of Folly and Dreams,* Paris, Editions Vega, 1934.

William Strange, M.D., "Cannabis Indica in Smoking Tobacco," *British Medical Journal,* 1923.

Dr. J. Bouquet, Inspector of Pharmacies, Tunis, *Le Cannabisme en Tunisie,* 1925.

Louis J. Bragman, "Weed of Insanity," *Medical Journal and Record,* 1925.

A. Dardanne, *Contribution à l'Etude du Chanvre Indien,* Paris, Vigot Frères, 1924.

Louis Lewin, *Les Paradis Artificiels,* Berlin, 1928.

Robert Kingman, "Green Goddess," *Medical Journal and Record,* October 19, 1927.

Barón Harry d'Erlanger, *The Last Plague of Egypt,* 1936.

Badrul Hassan, *The Drink and Drug Evil in India,* Madras, 1922.

Indigenous Drugs of India, 1933.

Wood, Spivey and Easterfield, J. Chem. Society, 75, 20-36, 1899.

H. W. Youngken, *Textbook of Pharmacognosy,* Philadelphia, 1936.

Dr. J. C. Munch, *Cannabis Sativa Detection,* paper presented to American Association for Advancement of Science, December 28, 1936.

Courtney Ryley Cooper, *Here's to Crime,* Boston, Little Brown & Co., 1937.

League of Nations, Opium Advisory Committee Document Series O.C. 1542 *et al.*

Hearings before Committee on Ways and Means, House of Representatives, 75th Congress, first session, on H.R. 6385, April 27, 1937.

Hearings before subcommittee of Committee of Finance, United States Senate, 75th Congress, first session, on H.R. 6906, July 12, 1937.

United States Treasury Department, Bureau of Narcotics. *Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs,* 1934, 1935, 1936. Report of Marihuana Investigation, Summer of 1937.

The Foreign Policy Association has issued the following pamphlets under the Opium Research Committee's auspices:

The Case Against Heroin, Pamphlet No. 24, 1923

International Control of the Traffic in Opium, Pamphlet No. 33, May 1925

The Opium Situation in India, Pamphlet No. 39, May 1926

Survey of Smoking Opium Conditions in the Far East, March 1927

International Drug Control, Existing Methods and Proposed Solutions, Pamphlet No. 46, July 1937

Twenty Years of Persian Opium, March 1928

A B C of Narcotic Drugs, by Dr. O. Anselmino. League of Nations Publications, XI, Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs, 1931.XI.I; and the Geneva Convention of 1931. Available free upon request.

International Limitation of Dangerous Drugs. Analysis of plans for the May 1931 conference at Geneva, showing developments since 1924. Foreign Policy Reports, Vol. VII, No. 2, 1931.

International Administration of Narcotic Drugs, 1928-1934, Foreign Policy Reports, Vol. X, No. 26, 1935.

Montana, Black Spot on United States Narcotic Map, February 1936

The Opium Menace in the Far East, Foreign Policy Reports, Vol. XII, No. 24, 1937

World Opium Production (*in preparation*)

Prices for quantity orders on these publications supplied on request.

U. S. Department of Justice
Bureau of Investigation

Post Office Box #70
Wall Street Station
New York City

McK:R

December 11, 1929.

Dir. One

61-7802-X13

DEC 12 1929

DEC 12 1929

Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Reference is had to telephonic request received from the Bureau late yesterday for information relative to the Foreign Policy Association and the American Civil Liberties Union.

Foreign Policy Association.

With respect to the Foreign Policy Association the following information has been secured;

The Association was incorporated in 1918, holding its first meeting on April 23rd of that year, and celebrated its tenth anniversary at a luncheon held at the Hotel Astor, New York City, on Saturday, November 10, 1928. Its national headquarters are at 18 East 41st Street, New York City, where it occupies the entire thirteenth floor, and its present Officers, Board of Directors, National Council, etc., as of October, 1929, consist of the following:

OFFICERS

James G. McDonald
Chairman
Ruth Morgan
Vice-Chairman
Albert Lytle Deane
Treasurer
Esther G. Ogden
Secretary
Carolyn E. Martin,
Assistant Treasurer
Olive L. Sawyer
Asst. to the Chairman

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

Raymond Leslie Buell
Director

PROMOTION BUREAU

Abbott Ingalls

SPEAKERS' BUREAU

Elisabeth McK. Scott

WASHINGTON BUREAU

William T. Stone

NATIONAL COUNCIL

Miss Jane Addams
Edwin A. Alderman
George H. Blakeslee
Roland W. Boyden
Chalres L. Carrick
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt
Stephen P. Duggan
Charles K. Edmunds
W. H. P. Faunce
Frank J. Goodnow
William Green
Walker D. Hines

COPIES DESTROYED

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Bruce Bliven
Joseph P. Chamberlain
Mrs. M. C. Draper
Mrs. Learned Hand
Carlton J. H. Hayes
Charles P. Howland
Paul U. Kellogg
Edward Krehbiel
Mrs. Thomas W. Lamont
Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach
Julian W. Mack
Mrs. Helen Howell Moorhead
Walter H. Pollak
Very Rev. Howard C. Robbins
Ralph S. Rounds
Eustace Seligman
Miss Lillian D. Wald
A. Livingston Warnshuis
Arthur Sachs, Chairman, Finance Committee

BRANCH CHAIRMEN

Francis B. Biddle Philadelphia
George S. Buck, Buffalo
Mrs. Edward W. Campion Columbus
Dr. Amy M. Gilbert Elmira
Leland M. Goodrich Providence
Charles Hiland Hall Springfield (Mass.)
Christian A. Herter Boston
Charles F. Keyes Minneapolis
George R. H. Nicholson Hartford
Emory H. Niles, Baltimore
Rt. Rev. G. Ashton Oldham Albany
Dexter Perkins, Rochester
Walter S. Robertson Richmond
William L. West, St. Paul
Russell Wilson, Cincinnati
Dr.S.B. Woodward, Worcester

NATIONAL COUNCIL (CON'T)

Manley O. Hudson
Mrs. Simon Kuhn
Thomas W. Lamont
Sam A. Lewisohn
V. Everit Macy
Samuel Mather
Herbert L. May
Bishop Francis J. McConnell
Rev. William P. Merrill
Mrs. James Morrisson
Robert R. Moton
William A. Neilson
George Stuart Patterson
Roscoe Pound
Chester Rowell
Rev. John A. Ryan
Dean William Scarlett
Jeremiah Smith, Jr.
Silas H. Strawn
Paul M. Warburg
Edwin S. Webster
William Allen White
Michael Williams
Owen D. Young

As to membership the Association states: "The greatest asset of the Foreign Policy Association is a membership of 10,000 Americans with a widespread, active interest in the part which we as a people can and do play in the World Today."

As to its objects the Association states: "Our object is to furnish a background of unbiased facts against which may be formed independent and accurate judgments on international events.

"For this purpose, we maintain at New York an expert Research Staff, under the direction of Raymond Leslie Buell, which is engaged in studying first-hand and documentary sources to collect those facts which are published in the

weekly News Bulletin, and the fortnightly Information Service. During the past year, we have answered more than 3,000 requests for information coming from a great variety of people scattered throughout the country."

"Incidentally, we have so revivified heckling as to convince men and women of the most varied points of view that here is an organization that plays square and at which they can get a hearing. Reprints of the New York luncheon discussions appear in the Pamphlet Series, and all of them are broadcast over WEAF."

One of the further objects is "to discuss current problems of foreign affairs in an objective and scholarly manner, presenting both sides of the question and leaving the reader to form his own opinion."

The Association claims that in the eighty-two meetings held last year throughout the country the total attendance amounted to thirty-one thousand and states that its growth in the last ten years has resulted in the development of a Washington Bureau "which has contact with official and press representatives in the Capital; a Speakers' Bureau engaged in supplying speakers on international affairs to organizations throughout the country; and the Chairman's weekly radio talks over WEAF on the subject of "The World Today."

In addition, the Association states: "Each year at least 86% of former members have reaffirmed their faith by continuing their membership. Our work is so sound, so free of any axe to grind that we count among our members men and women of widely divergent viewpoints; newspaper editors, government officials, scholars, business men and labor leaders."

The cost of membership is as follows:

Cooperating Membership 10.00
(Three dollars of this membership is for a year's subscription to the fortnightly Information Service."
Regular Membership 5.00
Associate Membership 3.00
(Open only to faculty and undergraduates in schools and colleges and to the clergy)
Contributing Membership 25.00
Sustaining Membership 100.00

The Speakers' Bureau of the Foreign Policy Association issues a booklet containing the subjects and names of speakers on international, political and economic questions for the use of the organizations interested in such subjects. The booklet states that the list of speakers on foreign affairs includes

"both men and women, foreign and American, liberal, middle of the road and conservative."

The Association also sells certain publications ranging in price from ten cents to five dollars, a list of which are attached to this letter.

There are also being forwarded two copies each of pamphlets bearing titles respectively "The Foreign Policy Association Presents" and "10 years of the F. P. A.", which contain information regarding the organization, its membership and activities; also two other small pamphlets and copies of applications for membership and for tickets for luncheons; also three copies of the "News Bulletin", Volume IX, No. 5, issue of December 6, 1929.

American Civil Liberties Union

With respect to this organization the following information was obtained:

This organization which was originally made up of a number of others of the same general stripe was formed early in 1917 with the object it claimed of carrying on free speech and assemblage.

Its present headquarters in New York City are at 100 - Fifth Avenue, and its officers and National Committee are made up of the following:

OFFICERS

Harry F. Ward - Chairman
Helene Phelps Stokes - Vice Chairman
David Starr Jordan - Vice Chairman
James H. Maurer - Vice Chairman
B. W. Huebsch - Treasurer
Roger N. Baldwin - DIRECTOR
Ernest Bailey - DIRECTOR
Lucille B. Milner - Field Secretary
Arthur G. Hays - Counsel
Clayton S. Spear - Washington Correspondent.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Charles F. Amidon
Harry Elmer Barnes
Herbert S. Bigelow
Edwin M. Borchard
Richard C. Cabot
John S. Codman

Clarence Darrow
John Dewey
James H. Dillard
Robert W. Dunn
John Lovejoy Elliott
Elizabeth Glendon Evans
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn
Felix Frankfruter
Ernst Freund
Kate Crane Gartz
Norman Hopgood
Hubert C. Herring
Morris Hillquit
John Haynes Holmes
Frederic C. Howe
James Weldon Johnson
Helen Kellar
George W. Kirchway
Julia C. Lathrop
Agnes Brown Leach
Arthur LeSuerver
Henry R. Linville
Robert Morss Lovett
Mary E. McDowell
Anne Martin
Alexander Meiklejohn
Henry R. Mussey
A. J. Muste
Scott Nearing
Walter Nelles
Fremont Older
Julia S. O'Connor Parker
William Pickens
Jeannette Rankin
Edward A. Ross
John A. Ryan
John Nevin Sayre
Joseph Schlossberg
Rose Schneiderman
Vida D. Scudder
Abla Hibber Silver
John F. Sinclair
Clarence R. Skinner
Norman M. Thomas
Edward D. Tittmann
Albert M. Todd
William S. U'Ren

Oswald Garrison Villard
B. Charney Vlodeck
David Nallerstein
George P. West
Peter Witt
L. Hollingsworth Wood.

The aims and objects are as follows:

Principals.

Freedom of speech, press, and assemblage to direct efforts in these lines, to speak freely without permit no matter how radical or violent in any public place.

Free Press. No censorship over mails by postal authorities in any way. Printed matter never to be subject to political censorship. No license or control over distribution of literature or hand bills in public or private places.

Right to Strike. Workers to unite into organizations of their own choosing and right to strike should never be infringed by law. To condemn compulsory arbitration.

Law Enforcement. Oppose the deputizing of private police as regular police for the purpose of sending them into industrial strike areas.

Right of Free Trial. Any person charged with offenses whether radical or criminal to be given free trial. In case of a poor person aid to be given.

Immigration, Deportation, Passports. No person should be refused admission to United States especially radicals of various beliefs, nor should Aliens be deported for expression of opinion or for membership in radical revolutionary organizations. Citizenship papers not to be refused Aliens because of radical expression in the cause of labor.

This organization was particularly active during the recent trial at Gastonia, N.C. where a number of laboring men were charged with murder and at a meeting of the organization the question regarding the procedure and selection of counsel for appeal of the Gastonia case was brought up. At the same meeting the Board authorized the employment of Gilbert Hyatt as publicity man in North Carolina, his pay to be commensurate with the pay he was already receiving from the magazine known as "Labor", plus expenses.

At the same meeting the Board approved the recommendation of Paul Douglas for supporting the civil rights of Haitians as follows:

Hearings to be held with the State Department and the President to urge replacement of Military High Commissioner, by a Civil Commissioner, political election of a Haitian Congress; appointment of as many Haitians as possible in the Haitian Government; the appointment of someone to go to Haiti for the United States Government and make recommendation of policy.

At a meeting held November 25, 1929 the Board approved paying the expenses of H. G. Gulley as investigater for the American Civil Liberties Union at Gastonia. Information has also been received to the effect that Arthur Garfield Hays, was at Gastonia, N.C. in the interests of the strikers and was said to be General Counsel for them.

For your further information Paul Douglas, mentioned above is also listed as one of the speakers listed by the Foreign Policy Association.

The American Civil Liberties Union is now active in San Bernardino California, where they have furnished bail for several persons who have been arrested as Communists.

The foregoing comprises all the information regarding these two organizations which could be obtained at this time.

Very truly yours,

C. D. McKean
Special Agent in Charge.

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOC
INCORPORATED
Washington Bureau
NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.
TELEPHONE: DISTRICT 3780

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
8 WEST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE
WILLIAM T. STONE
CHARLES A. THOMSON

Mr. Nathan
Mr. Tolson
Mr. Baughman
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Crowl
Mr. Dawsey
Mr. Egan
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Esch
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Lester
Mr. McIntire
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Schilder
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

April 20, 1938

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Thank you very much for your suggestion that I get in touch with Mr. H. J. Anslinger. I have worked with him very closely since the founding of the Bureau of Narcotics, and with the representative of the State Department, Mr. Stuart J. Fuller, Assistant Chief of the Far Eastern Division, as well.

For your private information this pamphlet was written at the request of Mr. Anslinger, and the Treasury Department bought the entire first edition. Knowing your outstanding leadership in the field of crime prevention, I hoped that perhaps you might find it possible to give me an opportunity to talk the matter over with you so that we could use the pamphlet to the best advantage in the educational campaign against the spread of this drug. I am entirely at your disposal at any time if you will be good enough to telephone my office - District 3780 - and make an appointment.

Very sincerely yours,

Helen Howell Moorhead

Mrs. Howell Moorhead, Secretary
Opium Research Committee

61-7802-X15

~~94-4-1867-2~~

RECORDED & INDEXED.

APR 21 1938

FILE

RFG:JDiF

April 15, 1938.

RECORDED 61-7802-X14

~~94-4-1867~~

Mrs. Howell Moorhead, Secretary,
Opium Research Committee, Washington Bureau,
Foreign Policy Association, Incorporated,
National Press Building,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Moorhead:

Upon my return to the city my attention has been called to your letter of March 15, 1938, in which you enclosed a copy of the pamphlet published by the Foreign Policy Association entitled "Marihuana, the New Dangerous Drug." It was indeed thoughtful of you to make this pamphlet available to me and I do want you to know how much I appreciate your courtesy in doing so.

May I advise that the enforcement of the Federal Narcotics Statute is not within the investigative jurisdiction of this Bureau, being within the purview of the Bureau of Narcotics under the direction of Honorable H. J. Anslinger, Commissioner, Bureau of Narcotics, U. S. Department of the Treasury, Washington, D. C., and it has occurred to me that you might desire to discuss the dissemination of your pamphlet with Mr. Anslinger.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover,
Director.

Mr. Nathan
Mr. Tolson
Mr. Baughman
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Crowl
Mr. Egan
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hottel
Mr. Lester
Mr. McIntire
Mr. Naughten
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Schilder
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
APR 1 1938
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

JAN 11 1957

278 W 4th St,
New York City.
June 10.

91040

The Federal Bureau of Investigation.

My husband and I heard this speech and thought it should be called to your attention. It seems strange that a loyal American should allude to more "dynamic", i.e. more powerful and able, forms of government, evidently meaning the dictator powers That he should go on to say that the fighting spirit had gone out of democracy seems hardly less strange. The speaker appeared to have a barely distinguishable foreign accent.

Sincerely,

Betty A Duquesne

Betty Adams Duquesne

1 ENCL.

RECORDED
&
INDEXED

7/16/40

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
5 JUN 13 1940
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

91

Certain parts of this speech have been cut - in broadcast Nazi

AMERICA LOOKS ABROAD

Twenty-eighth Broadcast — May 26, 1940

Presented by the
Foreign Policy Association
8 West 40th Street
New York, N.Y.

Every Sunday
3:15 to 3:30 E.D.S.T.
National Broadcasting Company
Blue Network

government was alluded to as "a more dynamic form of government"

"PROSPECTS OF A NAZI VICTORY"

by

John C. deWilde

P.S. I later found this were not cuts. BD

Good afternoon! In the densely-populated plains of western Belgium and northern France a great battle is seething. It may well decide the outcome of this war and determine the form of society and philosophy of life that will prevail in Europe. A large Allied army is fighting heroically to escape from the steel pincers which threaten to close down on it. The British and French, aided by the Belgians, are battling, with a desperation born of a knowledge that their very existence is at stake. They must halt the German drive now or never. If they fail, the stage will be set for an invasion of Britain and an Italian attack in the Mediterranean.

The progress of the German military machine has been phenomenal. It has swept through four countries, occupied most of Belgium and irrupted into France. What is responsible for these amazing German successes? For one thing, the Nazis have developed mobile, offensive warfare to a perfection never before equalled. Powerful bombers dive down to blast the advance positions of the enemy. Hundreds of heavily-armored tanks roll in relentlessly, spitting fire and taking advantage of the confusion. Motorized infantry pours through every breach, and other troops, trained for long marches, move in to mop up and consolidate the advance. Every effort is made to break enemy morale. The use of parachute troops and "fifth columns" is now too well-known to require comment. Perhaps more important has been the employment of fast-moving columns which filter through every weak point in the enemy lines, striking from the rear, destroying supply depots and cutting off communications. Low-flying attack planes suddenly roar over marching enemy troops, dropping bombs and raking the soldiers with machine-guns. Such tactics are highly demoralizing and difficult to combat.

German strategy, too, has been characterized by an unusual boldness of conception and execution. The German generals, if left to their own devices, would probably not have carried out such a plan of attack. The military mind is generally conservative, reluctant to resort to new and untried methods. Very likely Hitler has been the driving genius. The army is the Fuehrer's pet child, his own creation. The former corporal has become the generalissimo. He rushes in where others fear to tread. Ever since he drove the hesitant German generals to occupy the Rhineland in 1936, he has called the moves and supplied the motive power. Hitler does not shrink from risking everything. With him it is a question of "do or die." He has poured all of Germany's man-power and material into this gigantic effort to win a Blitzkrieg. And so far his recklessness and boldness appear to have borne fruit.

But this formidable military machine could never have been created if Germany's economy had not been effectively geared to the war. For many years before

the outbreak of hostilities the Nazis were hard at work to establish what they called a Wehrwirtschaft, a military economy. The sole objective was to create an invincible armament. Labor, industry, agriculture and foreign trade were mobilized in this endeavor. The standard of living was sacrificed. Considerations of private enterprise and individual freedom were over-ridden. Thus from the very beginning Germany was able to throw into this struggle its maximum economic and military strength.

Finally, the Nazi campaign has been powered by a fanatic zeal and fighting spirit. Make no mistake; Nazism is a revolutionary faith. It represents a new concept of society. It revolutionizes the relationship of the individual to the community. Just as the French soldiers under Napoleon carried the French Revolution through Europe, so the Nazis are bearing the torch of revolution in one hand, and the sword in the other. These thousands of young German soldiers would not display such daring and initiative unless they were inspired by a revolutionary idea and a blind devotion to the German Fuehrer. The bulk of the German people on the home front have also been rallied about the swastika. For many of them Hitler appears at last to be realizing the true German destiny. The Nazis have cleverly exploited the feeling of the German people that they, eighty million strong, are better equipped to organize and control Europe than forty-seven million British or forty-two million Frenchmen.

For all this the Allies were poorly prepared. The French, and particularly the British, always under-estimated Hitler and the power of the Nazi movement. They indulged in too much wishful thinking about the possibility of a political or economic collapse in Germany. The flippant characterization of Hitler as a house-painter or paperhanger fooled many people. Even after war broke out, the Allies relied too much on a static conception of warfare. They believed that their superiority of economic and financial resources would tell in the end, and that the Germans could be starved out. The comparative inactivity of Germany after the Polish campaign encouraged the Allies in the conviction that they would have ample time to mobilize the military and economic strength needed to deliver the final blow. They moved far too slowly in stepping up the production of armament. In Britain, particularly, the government and people were too reluctant to interfere with normal business and shoulder the heavy sacrifices required for the grim task of war.

We as Americans, however, would do well not to be too severe in our strictures of the Allies. Few of us can rightfully claim that we foresaw all this, or that we fully realized the scope of Nazi ambitions and the extent of German power. Otherwise we too might have taken measures. Nor could anyone have predicted the ease with which the Dutch, Belgian and French defense works crumpled before the German onslaught. Hitherto there had been little reason to question the adage that the power of defense usually keeps pace with the development of offensive weapons.

The Allied military situation is not, of course, wholly beyond repair. There are still opportunities for effective counter-attack before the Germans have consolidated their positions. In a daring plan of campaign such as the German, crucial mistakes may yet be made. The Germans are drawing heavily on their reserves of man-power and material without being able to replace them as rapidly. Their supplies are not inexhaustible. Meanwhile, the grave emergency has at last galvanized the Allies into energetic action. In Britain the Churchill government has awakened the people to the gravity of the situation. A law giving the cabinet sweeping authority to conscript labor and national wealth has been rushed through Parliament. New and energetic men are directing the various ministries dealing with

the production of aircraft, munitions and the mobilization of labor. Measures have been taken to combat an invasion. Everyone is putting his shoulder to the wheel. In France, too, reorganization has been the order of the day. A shake-up in the army has placed General Weygand, an old disciple of Foch, in command. The Premier has appealed to every soldier to stand his ground. The Frenchman will fight bitterly to defend his beloved native soil. But all these efforts may come too late. Unquestionably the Allies are now battling against almost overwhelming odds. The enemy has seized a large part of supplies stored in northern France and in the channel ports; and Allied pilots are approaching exhaustion in their gallant attempts to combat German superiority in the air.

We in this country must resolutely face the prospect and consequences of a Nazi victory in Europe. If Hitler wins, we must be prepared for the disappearance of democratic institutions in Europe. We must even expect that the British and French will keenly resent our unwillingness to give them more effective aid. We may see a Fascist United States of Europe. The French and British Empires may be disrupted. In Africa Germany may acquire colonies in close proximity to South America. In Europe the Nazis expect to organize a vast continental market and production machine which undoubtedly would have tremendous economic bargaining power in Latin America and other countries overseas. The British navy, which has stood between us and Europe, would be wiped out. And in the Far East the disposition of French, British and Dutch colonies would confront us with burning questions.

While we must face the facts, there is no cause for panic and hysteria. There is no danger of invasion in the immediate future. German parachute troops will not be landed, nor will New York be bombarded overnight. The fear of "fifth columns" does not justify indiscriminate measures against German-Americans, German refugees or other elements on the mere suspicion that they may all be guilty of treason or spying.

What then must we do? First of all, there is need for a sober and intelligent reappraisal of our position in the world. We must carefully examine what we want to defend and how we shall defend it. We must not become too alarmed by the many charges that the billions hitherto spent for national defense have simply been poured down the sink. In reality we have a first-class navy. We also possess a larger peace-time army than ever before. Of course, this country must now revamp its defense program to meet the new situation which has arisen. We can no longer count on the British navy as the first bulwark of our defense. The possibility of establishing an adequate defense system for the entire Western Hemisphere will have to be examined. We may be compelled to take over the possessions of European powers on the American continents in order to keep them out of German hands. And we must also tackle energetically those bottlenecks in our production machinery which may hamper us in carrying out our armament program. This will involve the training of more skilled labor and the building of additional plants here and there. Adequate supplies of certain vital raw materials like rubber and tin will have to be secured. To this end we shall need to study the possibility and desirability of striving for hemispheric economic self-sufficiency.

We cannot neglect one other task, perhaps the most vital one. And that is the reinforcement of our spiritual defenses. The democratic world has had one fault in common. We have permitted our institutions to lose a certain amount of vitality. We have taken our freedom too much for granted. We are no longer so eager and enthusiastic to defend it against the challenge of newer and more dynamic

philosophies of government. In other words, the fighting spirit has largely gone out of democracy. There has also been too much strife and dissension, too little solidarity and unity. Very often freedom has been treated not as a great privilege, but as a means to acquire selfish advantage. Perhaps this war in Europe will not have been entirely in vain if it brings about a revival of the national spirit in our own country. We may yet attain a greater appreciation of our liberties and a renewed determination to defend them. But at the same time there must be less political sniping and a greater willingness to pull in harness. Without these, democracy cannot work.

This country need not fall victim to defeatism. To use a German phrase, we have ample "living space" on this hemisphere. In a common effort with the other American countries.we can create a great commonwealth, resting upon cooperation rather than coercion. Opportunities are not lacking. Our resources are immense and we have the technical ingenuity to use them. There is no reason why we should not be able to expand our production for defense and still maintain and advance our living standards. Nor need we sacrifice social progress. Our farms produce a surplus of food. We have millions of idle men, and plenty of idle industrial capacity. We can and must put them to work. The essential condition is that government, industry and labor pull together in a true cooperative spirit. Let us all put our shoulders to the wheel!

PERTINENT F.P.A. PUBLICATIONS

BUILDING THE THIRD REICH - Here is the background of Germany's present tremendous struggle. How successful has this preparation been; has it affected the German standard of living; what are Hitler's plans for the future of Germany and Europe? 56 pages - 25¢

THE BRITISH EMPIRE UNDER FIRE - Focusing on the present life-and-death struggle of an Empire which includes one out of every four persons in the world, this book sketches graphically the British Empire's growth, government and guiding principles. Published May 29, 1940. 96 pages - 25¢

WAR ATLAS - 45 living maps using a new technique, with text facing each map. Enables you to follow the day-to-day news of the war wherever it may spread throughout the world. 96 pages - 25¢

THE UNITED STATES FACES A NEW WORLD ORDER. 4 pages - 5¢

- -

Foreign Policy Association
8 West 40th Street, New York

Enclosed is _____¢, for which please send me a copy of . . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

_____

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
New York, N.Y.

100-
GJS:HD

August 28, 1940

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Re: FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, INC.
Internal Security

Dear Sir:

For the information of the Bureau there are being forwarded herewith, the following pamphlets purchased at the office of the FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, INC.:

"IN QUEST OF EMPIRE - The Problem Of Colonies" by Walter Consuelo Langsam.

"BATTLES WITHOUT BULLETS - The Story of Economic Warfare " by Thomas Brockway.

"THE PEACE THAT FAILED - How Europe Sowed The Seeds of War " - by Varian Fry.

The above are all in a series of so-called "Headline Books".

The following three are World Affairs Pamphlets:

"DEFENDING AMERICA" - by Major George Fielding Eliot.

"AMERICA CHARTS HER COURSE" - by David H. Popper

"AMERICA'S CHOICE TODAY" - by William T. Stone and the Research Staff of the Foreign Policy Association.

RECORDED & INDEXED 61-7902-2X

Very truly yours,

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
5 AUG 28 1940
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

B. E. SACKETT
Special Agent in Charge.

Enc. 6.

JAN 14 1957 RLM

JFP:US

RECORDED

July 16, 1940

Mrs. Betty Adams Duquesne
278 West 4th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Duquesne:

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 10, 1940, and to express appreciation for the interest you have displayed.

You may be assured the content of your communication and its enclosure has been noted and is being given appropriate attention.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Nathan
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Egan
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hendon
Mr. McIntire
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Adm. Files
Pers. Files
Tour Room
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
JUL 16 1940
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-29-2011

857a

February

DAF:KLB
100-769-742

b7D

MEMORANDUM FOR [redacted] (S)

(U)

~~SECRET~~

Re: Foreign Policy Association

The following resume of material available regarding the above captioned subject is set forth for your information:

(In a folder printed by the Foreign Policy Association the aim of that association is stated as being a nonpartisan, noncommercial organization founded in 1918 to increase the interest and understanding of international affairs. The folder states that the association has a permanent staff of ten research experts under the direction of Raymond Leslie Buell; that it has a main office in New York and seventeen branch organizations in seventeen cities in the United States where frequent public meetings present outstanding authorities in informal discussion of international news of the day. It states that through the Washington bureau a finger is kept on the pulse of American foreign relations and through the Washington bureau new facts are brought to the attention of Senate committees, news agencies, and members of foreign legations.) This folder states that the publications of this association are as follows:

The Foreign Policy Bulletin -

(Weekly comments by the research staff upon current news as it relates to foreign affairs.)

Foreign Policy Reports -

(Documented studies each presenting the historical background as well as the contemporary phases of some one international problem.)

RECORDED & INDEXED

61-7502-3

Foreign Policy Pamphlets -

(Analysis of important phases of world affairs written by well known specialists.)

MAR

Headline Books -

(A series of brief books, the clear style and vivid illustrations of which aim to give the reader a quick but

61-7502-3

549,074

Classified by SDC bga/lmw
Declassify on: OADR 11/25/85

b7D

adequate understanding of the world issue in the news.)

Washington News Letter -

(Current developments in Washington not elsewhere published regarding United States foreign policy.)

The officials of this organization are listed as:

Raymond Leslie Buell	-	President
William T. Stone	-	Vice President
William A. Eldridge	-	Treasurer
Esther G. Ogden	-	Secretary
Carolyn Martin	-	Assistant Treasurer.

(Letter from N.Y. Field Office 6/2/27 61-7566-426).

The following quotation was secured from the constitution of the above organization:

"The object of the Foreign Policy Association is to carry on research and educational activities to aid in the understanding and constructive development of American Foreign Policy." (62-844-14)

The organization is presently located in the Midston House, st 38th Street, New York City. It is reported to be headed at t by General Frank R. McCoy. (Report of S.A. F.I. McGarraghy, 10/7/40. 65-12174-6)

The Foreign Policy Association is a continuation of the League ations which was reportedly pro-Soviet. (Report of S.A. G.J. Starr, 1/21/22--62-844-6)

June, 1927, a source in Europe advised that the Foreign ation was considered as being pro-Russian in its views and (61-6286-1)

confidential source advised in January, 1927 that the Foreign ciation was sponsored in its inception by the American Civil ion and that it at the time favored recognition of Soviet

887e

b7D

(U) Memorandum for [redacted] (S)

A confidential source in March, 1937 reported a recently formed Communist Party "United Front" organization namely, The Cooperative Committee on Publications, 8 West 40th Street, New York City. This organization was formed ostensibly to distribute peace literature and this fact, according to the source, explains why the Y.M.C.A. and the Foreign Policy Association were persuaded to join. It was organized and financed jointly by the following groups:

World Peaceways
Foreign Policy Association
Y.M.C.A.
League for Industrial Democracy
World Peace Foundation
and others. (Hal Hart, NYC, 61-7566-260)

A confidential source advised that Sarah Tamport who worked at the Foreign Policy Association, said that an important part of the strategy of a recent student peace strike had been worked out at the Foreign Policy Association office. She stated that she had acted unofficially because she could not work openly for something so obviously directed by the Communist Party. (Hal Hart, 6/10/37 61-7566-419)

Information was received on March 13, 1938 to the effect that the Foreign Policy Association Student Department was a consultant on educational material for the American Youth Congress, 55 West 42nd Street, New York City, according to a pamphlet issued by the latter organization entitled, "Youth Pilgrimage for Jobs and Education", which pilgrimage was to be held in Washington, D. C., on March 10-12, 1938. The American Youth Congress was the center of cooperation through which numerous organizations participated in what was known as the "Pilgrimage". Others interested in this movement were:

The American League for Peace and Democracy
American Students Union
Consumer's Union
International Workers Order
National Maritime Union
Young Communist League

and other so-called liberal or reportedly Communistic organizations.

(Bob M. 3/13/38, 61-7566-888X3)

887d

Information has also been received to the effect that the Institute of Pacific Relations, 129 East 52nd Street, New York City works very closely with the Foreign Policy Association, 8 West 40th Street, New York City and the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, England. (65-5938-26X)

Frances J. Pratt is Director of the Speakers' Bureau of the Foreign Policy Association. She resides at 17 East 64th Street, New York City.

WHAT DO YOU KNOW ABOUT..

FOREIGN

What It Is

The Foreign Policy Association is a non-partisan, non-commercial organization founded in 1918 to increase the interest and understanding of American citizens in international affairs. It is an educational—not a propaganda organization.

Where It Is

National Headquarters are in New York City at 22 East 38th Street. Branch cities are listed on the back of this leaflet.

How It Functions

Research—The backbone of the educational work of the FPA is its Research Department, composed of highly qualified experts in international relations. The members of the Department have at their command a wealth of information acquired through study, travel, and frequent visits to Washington, where contact with Congress, government departments and foreign embassies is maintained by the Association's Washington Bureau.

Public Discussion—At FPA meetings periodically held in New York and the Branch cities, problems of international affairs are discussed by well-known

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION
INCORPORATED

National Headquarters, 22 East 38th Street, New York, N. Y

NATIONAL OFFICERS

Frank Ross McCoy, *President*
William T. Stone, *Vice-President**
Sherman S. Hayden, *Assistant to the President*
Dorothy F. Leet, *Secretary*
William A. Eldridge, *Treasurer*
Carolyn Martin, *Assistant Treasurer*

WASHINGTON BUREAU

John I. B. McCulloch, *Acting Director and Latin American Associate*
John Elliott
Marguerite S. Gilpatric
Delia Goetz*

SPEAKERS BUREAU

Frances J. Pratt

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

Vera Micheles Dean, *Director*

Ernest S. Hediger
Margaret LaFoy*
Helen Howell Moorhead
Winifred Nelson
Ona K. D. Ringwood, *Librarian*
Lawrence K. Rosinger
Helen Terry, *Assistant Editor*
Howard P. Whidden

DEPARTMENT OF POPULAR EDUCATION

Sherman S. Hayden, *Acting Director*

Laura Palmer Chase
Priscilla A. Duxbury
Elizabeth C. Fleckenstein
R. A. McKenna
Elizabeth Ogg

BRANCH CHAIRMEN

Albany, N. Y.—Dr. Frank P. Graves
Atlanta, Ga.—Albert H. Staton
Baltimore, Md.—Hon. Emory Niles
Bethlehem, Pa.—Very Rev. Roscoe T. Foust
Boston, Mass.—Hon. Lawrence G. Brooks
Buffalo, N. Y.—Hon. Charles B. Sears
Cincinnati, Ohio—Hon. Russell Wilson
Columbus, Ohio—Prof. E. Allen Helms and Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes (co-chairmen)
Detroit, Mich.—H. M. Robins
Elmira, N. Y.—Dr. Elton Atwater
Hartford, Conn.—Walter K. Schwinn
Minneapolis, Minn.—Rev. Raymond B. Bragg
Philadelphia, Pa.—George Stuart Patterson
Pittsburgh, Pa.—T. W. Pomeroy, Jr.
Providence, R. I.—Frederick R. Wulsin
St. Paul, Minn.—Dr. Charles J. Turck
Springfield, Mass.—Dr. James Gordon Gilkey
Utica, N. Y.—Rollin W. Thompson
Worcester, Mass.—Dr. Dwight E. Lee

*On leave of absence.

speakers. The 1941-1942 list of speakers included: Herbert L. Matthews, William L. Batt, Major George Fielding Elliot, Ralph Assheton, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Bjarne Braatoy, Hanson Baldwin, Henry R. Luce. The audience is always given an opportunity to question the speakers, and student forums are usually held in connection with each meeting.

What It Publishes

Foreign Policy Bulletin—Published weekly, presents a brief, factual analysis of the latest national and international news.

Headline Books—Published six times a year, present a 60 page discussion of significant international developments. Recent titles include *Russia At War, Germany At War, Overseas America.* This series is written in popular style and illustrated with charts and maps.

Foreign Policy Reports—Published semi-monthly, are documented analyses of current international problems. Recent titles include: *Machinery of Collaboration between the United Nations, Hemisphere Solidarity in the War Crisis, India's Role in the World Conflict.*

CIATION

FOR STUDENTS

$1.00 the Academic Year
or
60c a Semester

Free Admission to:

FPA meetings*

Student Forums (led by experts) following FPA meetings

Informal student-led round tables

Foreign Policy Bulletin *every week*

Headline Book: *One each semester.*

Student members who join during the Fall term will receive *Uniting Today for Tomorrow:* The United Nations in War and Peace.

Foreign Policy Reports *semi-monthly.*

Student members may subscribe at the special rate of $1. a semester.

---

*Or whatever privileges your local FPA branch accords its student members.

High School and College Students carrying at least 10 credit hours a week are eligible.

STUDENT MEMBERSHIP BLANK

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION
22 East 38th Street, New York, N. Y.

Date.....

Enclosed is $..... Please enroll me as a Student Member for the following period:

- ☐ $1. Academic year (Oct. to June)
- ☐ 60c. Fall Semester (Oct. to Feb.)
- ☐ $1. Foreign Policy Reports for one semester
- ☐ $2. Foreign Policy Reports for academic year

(*Foreign Policy Reports at these rates available only to FPA student members*)

Name.....
[please print or type]

Address.....

.....

High School or College.....

Teacher most interested in international affairs.....

O G R A M

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

March 3, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LADD

I am transmitting to you a circular which was sent to me for whatever consideration you may believe advisable.

Very respectfully yours,
Blanche Hastings
Files Division

RECORDED & INDEXED

61-7802-4
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
19 MAR 2 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

1 ENCLO.

ENCLOSURE

61-2992-4

FOLDER EMPTY

DocLab Note

61-7802-5 IN THIS FILE SKIPPED DURING SERIALIZATION.

MAY 6 1963

JZG

C

220

ETM:EOD
61-7802

October 1, 1942

#77CN999(CLB)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/12/85 BY SP2TAP/CLB

SAC, New York

#77 CN999
SPS w/atc
9-27-88

Re: FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, INCORPORATED
ESPIONAGE

Dear Sir:

The Office of Censorship of the United States has furnished the Bureau with a copy of an intercept dated June 4, 1942, directed to Ignacio Garcia Tellez, Hamburgo 248, Mexico, D. F., from Foreign Policy Association, Incorporated, 22 East 38th Street, New York City, photostatic copies of which are transmitted herewith.

In view of the information set forth in this intercept, it is desired that a preliminary investigation be conducted regarding this organization and the Bureau advised accordingly.

It is suggested that a copy of the pamphlet entitled "Overseas America" be secured by your office and forwarded to the Bureau for appropriate consideration.

Yours truly,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosures

RECORDED & INDEXED

61-7802 6
F B I
19 OCT 5 1942

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Kramer
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 12
OCT 1 1942
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

12-22-42
RPC

Photo. No.

Records No. SA-18407

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

THE OFFICE OF CENSORSHIP

For use in the case of Registered Letters (If unregistered, insert "NONE")

Registered No. NONE

Mail No.

Serial No.

FROM— C. TRADE ~~JOINT INTERNAL~~

FOREIGN POLICY ASS'N., INC.
22 E. 38th STREET
NEW YORK

TO—

IGNACIO GARCIA TELLEZ
HAMBURGO 243
MEXICO, D.F.

#77CIV999(CLB)

DOCKETED BY SP2TAP 11-12-85

SPS 9-27-88 #77-CIV-999

Date of letter (or postmark if letter undated) JUNE 4, 1942

PREVIOUS RECORDS, IF RELEVANT

Nos. NONE

For interoffice use by A. C. or D. A. C. only.

Allocation of this comment sheet: CFC

ether to be photographed—

whom photograph is to be sent—

DISPOSAL OF ORIGINAL LETTER— Released, held, condemned or sent with comment to— HOLD

CONDEMNED BY CFC

Mr. Alden
Mr. Carson
Mr. Cunningham
Mr. Fitch
Mr. Kimball
Mr. Kramer
Laboratory
Mr. Moore
Mr. Fairchild
Mr. Sweeney
Mr. Travers
Mr. Timm

COMMENT

ENGLISH — MILITARY-NAVAL

ARMY AND NAVY BASES

NR

Cover contains copy of pamphlet, OVERSEAS AMERICA, writers' publication No. 35 (1942)

A. ALASKA

1. ARMY
   a. Army has a new network of emergency landings
   b. Major Army air bases at FAIRBANKS and ANCHORAGE where U.S. Army aviators are being trained for combat.
   c. Staging Field developed at MEHLAKATLA or ANNETTE ISLAND.

p. 8

2. NAVY
   a. ALEUTIAN ISLANDS form base for scouting operations
   b. Advance Air Base on UNALASKA ISLAND.
   c. Surface ship and submarine station at KODIAK and SITKA.

3. ADDITIONAL
   a. Highway from EDMONTON, ALBERTA, being built to FAIRBANKS will serve as a supply route for 7 stratigic CANADIAN Air Bases.
   b. An oil field, estimated to have one of the largest oil reserves in the world is located just north of EDMONTON.
   c. Oil producing field in KATALLA on the South Coast, the NORTHWESTERN ALASKA has been placed on a NAVAL OIL RESERVE

p. 10

B. HAWAII—

1-SD
1-ESI
1-CPC
1-RIS
1-SC
1-RB
2-Col
2-CC
To C
C/M

Division (or section)	TABLE	(one of five pages) EXAMINER	D. A. C.	DATE
[illegible]	1	2230	6/2257	6/13/42

Form OC-8 April 1942

16—25305-2 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1942

Photo. No.

Records No. SA-18401

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

THE OFFICE OF CENSORSHIP

For use in the case of Registered Letters (If unregistered, insert "NONE")

Registered No.

Serial No. NONE

Mail No.

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM— OS TRADE

FOREIGN POLICY ASSN., INC.
22 E. 38th STREET
NEW YORK

TO— IGNACIO GARCIA TELLEZ
HAMBURGO 248
MEXICO, D.F.

Date of letter (or postmark if letter undated) JUNE 4, 1942

PREVIOUS RECORDS, IF RELEVANT

Nos. NONE

For interoffice use by A. C. or D. A. C. only.

Allocation of this comment sheet: CPC

Whether to be photographed—

If so, to whom photograph is to be sent—

DISPOSAL OF ORIGINAL LETTER—
Released, held, condemned or sent with comment to— HOLD

~~CONDEMNED BY CPC~~

COMMENT

ENGLISH MILITARY-NAVAL

1. Army and Navy Auxiliary Airfields and Garrisons on some small islands surrounding OAHU
2. OAHU has some of the strongest fortifications and extensive repair facilities in the world.
p.19
3. PEARL HARBOR can accomodate almost the entire U.S. NAVY at one time and there is a 1,000 ft. dry dock for care of battleships.

4. Linked by a railway running 3/4 around the Island are: oil storage tanks, supply depots, forts, barracks, ammunition dump, and airfields.

C. S.A. LANES AND ATOLLS
1. In 1941 the navy began construction of naval air bases on the two atolls-JOHNSTON and PALMYRA.
p.55
2. They constitute an invaluable intermediate station for refueling
3. KINGMAN REEF was proclaimed an air space reservation in 1941.

D. THE CANAL ZONE
1. Strategic importance
a. Time lost, if canal were crippled, might mean the difference between victory and defeat.
P 57
b. All important machinery has been "bomb proofed" to meet air attachs.
c. A direct hit by a very heavy bomb on a vessel sunk within the locks might tie up the canal for 2 or 3 months.
d. A new set of locks to be completed in 1945 or 1946 will lessen this threat.

(two of five pages)

Division (or section)	TABLE	EXAMINER	D. A. C.	DATE
PUBLICATIONS	2230	A/2257		6/13/42

Form OC-8
April 1942

16—25305-2 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1942

Photo. No.

Records No. 8A-18401

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

THE OFFICE OF CENSORSHIP

For use in the case of Registered Letters (If unregistered, insert "NONE")

Registered No. NONE

Serial No.

Mail No. OS TRADE CONFIDENTIAL

FROM—	To—
FOREIGN POLICY ASS'N., INC. 22 E. 38th STREET NEW YORK	IGNACIO GARCIA TELLEZ HAMBURGO 248 MEXICO, D.F.
Date of letter (or postmark if letter undated): JUNE 4, 1942	

PREVIOUS RECORDS, IF RELEVANT	For interoffice use by A. C. or D. A. C. only.	Allocation of this comment sheet:
Nos. NONE		CPC

Whether to be photographed—	DISPOSAL OF ORIGINAL LETTER—
If so, to whom photograph is to be sent—	Released, held, condemned or sent with comment to— HOLD

CONDEMNED BY CPC

COMMENT

ENGLISH MILITARY-NAVAL

B. Naval bases in Panama:
(1) Air base and fully equipped submarine base at COCO SOLO on the Atlantic side.
(2) At BALBOA on the Pacific side there is a naval operating base, an ammunition depot and a commercial dry dock for battleships.

p. 58

f. Army Bases in Panama.
(1) HOWARD and ALBROOK fields on the Pacific side are air bases.
(2) FRANCE FIELD on the Atlantic side fills the same position.

E. PUERTO RICO
1. Naval operations
a. An air base on ISLA GRANDE adjoining SAN JUAN HARBOR-where there already is a surface ship base, finished in 1941, includes hangars, barracks, runways, storehouses, and repair shops, and a new cruiser dry dock was installed within the harbor.

p. 64

b. CULEBRA and VIEQUES on the tract are good for naval anchorage and additional shore facilities.

2. Army Fortifications
a. A huge airdrome to house army "flying fortresses" and a 2,583 acre airfield were recently constructed at PUNTA BORINQUEN.
b. Eight auxiliary airfields will support this major station
c. Posts at FORT BUCHANAN and HENRY BARRACKS
d. Emergency landing fields at CULEBRA and VIEQUES

(three of five pages)

Division (or section)	TABLE	EXAMINER	D. A. C.	DATE

Form OC-8 April 1942

16—25395-2 U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1942

Photo. No.

Records No. SA-18407

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
THE OFFICE OF CENSORSHIP

For use in the case of Registered Letters (If unregistered, insert "NONE")

Registered No. NONE

Serial No.

Mail No.

~~OB TRADE~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM—	To—
FOREIGN POLICY ASS'N., INC. 22 E. 38th STREET NEW YORK	IGNACIO GARCIA TELLEZ HAMBURGO 248 MEXICO, D.F.
Date of letter (or postmark if letter undated) JUNE 4, 1942	

PREVIOUS RECORDS, IF RELEVANT	For interoffice use by A. C. or D. A. C. only.	Allocation of this comment sheet:
Nos. NONE		CPC

Whether to be photographed—	DISPOSAL OF ORIGINAL LETTER—
If so, to whom photograph is to be sent—	Released, held, condemned or sent with comment to— HOLD CONDEMNED BY CPC

COMMENT

ENGLISH MILITARY-NAVAL

F. THE VIRGIN ISLANDS counted as Military insurance.
1. CHARLOTTE AMALIE on ST. THOMAS ISLAND has a large harbor capable of harboring 23 warships.
2. In 1935 a permanent marine base was established 2 miles from CHARLOTTE AMALIE.
3. In 1940, additional land and sea-plane facilities were voted for these. p.31
4. ST. THOMAS ISLAND, strategic now because of naval bunkering needs.

G. NEW ATLANTIC OUTPOSTS
1. NEWFOUNDLAND
   a. Airbase on ARGENTIA PENINSULA, an army post nearby are important aids
   b. A naval repair and refueling station at ST. JOHN'S have been established.
2. BERMUDA:
   a. Behind the coral reefs of CASTLE HARBOR there is an anchorage for warships
   b. An operating base for surface ships, land, and seaplanes, is being constructed. p.83
   c. Except for TRINIDAD, all the base sites leased in the CARIBBEAN have been turned into supply or staging depots for patrol planes and naval squadrons.
   d. An air base in the BAHAMAS. A naval depot in JAMAICA. A seaplane base in ANTIGUA. A seaplane base and heavy bomber patrol station in SANTA LUCIA linked with older bases on the VIRGIN ISLANDS, PUERTO RICO, and GUANTANAMO. p.85
   e. The new base at TRINIDAD is planned as a major base for Air and naval operations. The sheltered GULF of PARIA between TRINIDAD and VENEZUELA with entrances

(four of five pages)

Division (or section)	TABLE	EXAMINER	D. A. C.	DATE
PUBLICATIONS 1		2230	A/2257	6/13/42

Form OC-8 April 1942

16—25395-2 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1942

Photo. No.

Records No. SA-18401

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

THE OFFICE OF CENSORSHIP

For use in the case of Registered Letters (If unregistered, insert "NONE")

Registered No.

Serial No. NONE

Mail No. OS TRADE CONFIDENTIAL

FROM—

FOREIGN POLICY ASS'N., INC.
22 E. 38th STREET
NEW YORK

Date of letter (or postmark if letter undated) JUNE 4, 1942

To—

IGNACIO GARCIA TELLEZ
HAMBURGO 243
MEXICO, D.F.

PREVIOUS RECORDS, IF RELEVANT

Nos. NONE

For interoffice use by A. C. or D. A. C. only.

Allocation of this comment sheet:

CPC

Whether to be photographed—

If so, to whom photograph is to be sent—

DISPOSAL OF ORIGINAL LETTER—
Released, held, condemned or sent with comment to— HOLD
CONDEMNED BY CPC

COMMENT

ENGLISH MILITARY-NAVAL

and exits north and south is ideal for this purpose, and TRINIDAD'S oil wells and refineries are an added strategic asset.

f. The southernmost of our outposts, the new air base in BRITISH GUIANA would relay to the main fighting forces at TRINIDAD warning of enemy approach. Originally acquired for defense bastions, those at the northern and southern end of the chain may play their part in offensive operations against our enemy.

g. We have obtained the right to maintain military establishments for the duration of the war in ICELAND, GREENLAND, and two Dutch possessions SURINAM, and ARUBA.

Washington, D.C., June 18, 1942

Condemn. Information should not be allowed to leave country. WFD

LA
A/AG 2041
6/14/42

(file of five pages)

Division (or section)	TABLE	EXAMINER	D. A. C.	DATE
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Form OC-8
April 1942

16—25395-2 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1942

#77CIV999(CLB)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/2/93 BY 6822 TAP/CLB

SPS c/ah
9-27-88
77 CIV 999
envelope & enclosure

ENCLOSURE

61-7802-6

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/12/85 BY SP2 TAP/CLS

SPS ij/ahr
9-27-88
#77 CIV 999

Gen. Frank R. McCoy, *President*

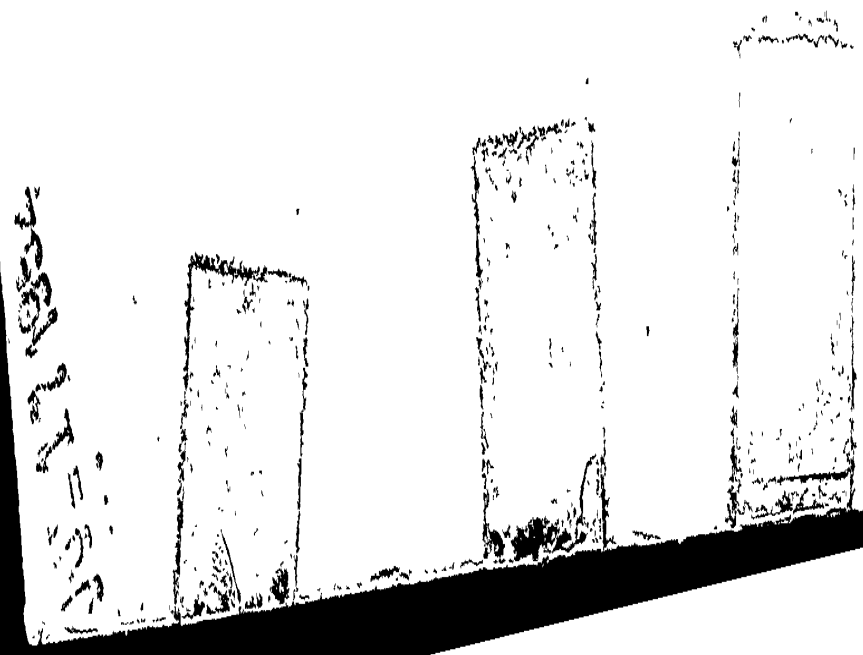
Foreign Policy Association

22 East 38th Street

New York, N. Y.

#77 CIV 999
SPS
9-27-88

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/12/85 BY SP2170/cs



The FPA and Its Activities

The task of equipping our citizens for the new responsibilities they face in this war period calls for vision, imagination and a backlog of sound information. For this task, the Foreign Policy Association possesses two important qualifications: first, an acknowledged reputation for the accurate presentation of all aspects of important world problems through its meetings, publications and popular education; and second, its program of continuous, cooperative research by a carefully trained staff of experts on international relations.

The Research Department is responsible for the preparation of Foreign Policy Reports and the Foreign Policy Bulletin. Its permanent staff of experts base their writings on first hand sources of news as well as on frequent interviews with government officials, political leaders and writers. All manuscripts are read before publication by several outside critics of varying points of view, thus assuring objectivity.

The Radio Series, "America Looks Abroad," is also prepared and delivered by the members of the Research staff every Sunday over more than seventy stations, through the courtesy of the Blue Network.

The Washington Bureau is an essential outpost of the Association's information service and an active center for maintaining constant contact with the State Department, government agencies and officials.

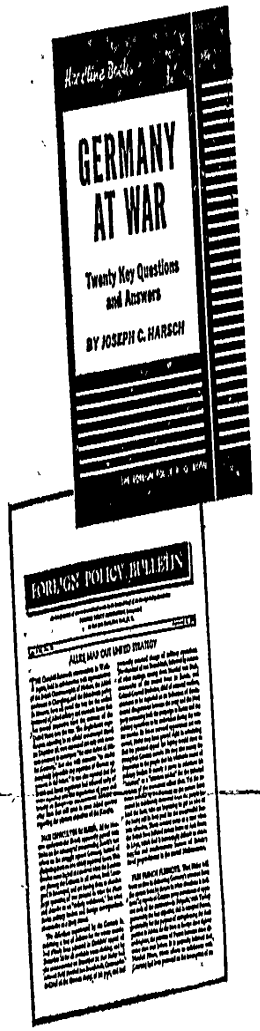
FPA Luncheon Discussions serve the all-important purpose of presenting to the American public the various phases of current international problems. Since 1918, distinguished men and women of North and South America, Europe and the Far East have helped FPA members to evaluate the baffling problems of world politics.

The Popular Education Department's major activity is the publication of Headline Books, of which approximately a million and a quarter copies have been distributed. Both Braille and Spanish editions have been prepared for certain titles. The Department's program also includes the preparation of study material for discussion groups, the organization of institutes on world affairs for discussion leaders, and forums and study groups for students in schools and colleges.

1 1 1

The FPA which has no endowment needs your support. Its operating expenses must be met by membership fees, subscriptions to publications, sale of literature, and contributions from foundations and individuals who believe in its research work and its educational program.

Membership Brings You . . .



Annual Dues

Regular Membership $5

Associate Membership $3
Open only to teachers, students, librarians, social workers, and the clergy.

Cooperating Membership ...$10
Includes all privileges listed in the opposite column, as well as a subscription to Foreign Policy Reports.

(See application blank for details regarding the various classes of membership.)

Dues and contributions to the Association are deductible in computing income tax.

1. **Headline Books,** written in a popular style and interestingly illustrated with original maps and charts, which tell the story of our times. Authoritative and up-to-the-minute, they receive the same careful scrutiny given all FPA publications.

2. **The Foreign Policy Bulletin,** a four-page weekly, which includes a Washington news letter. It is devoted to searching analyses of current developments, presented in the long-term perspective of history, and will carry an increased amount of material on Latin America.

3. Discount of 40% on subscription to the semi-monthly **Foreign Policy Reports.** These documented studies, presenting the historical background as well as current developments of an international problem, are written with the clarity and conciseness of the journalist and the integrity and objectivity of the research expert. Available to Regular and Associate Members at $3 a year; to Non-members at $5.

4. Discount of 10% on most books ordered through National Headquarters.

5. Special notice of meetings and a 22% discount on tickets to all meetings and discussions.

6. Assistance of the staff in answering specific questions relating to international affairs; the recommendation of pertinent reading lists.

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

Incorporated

22 EAST 38th STREET NEW YORK, N. Y.

NATIONAL BOARD OF DIRECTORS

James G. McDonald, *Honorary Chairman*
Esther G. Ogden, *Honorary Director*
Ralph S. Rounds, *Chairman*
Mrs. Henry G. Leach, *Vice-Chairman*

James Phinney Baxter
Bruce Bliven
Raymond Leslie Buell
Joseph P. Chamberlain
William A. Eldridge
Mrs. Learned Hand
Mrs. Bayard James
Philip C. Jessup
Paul U. Kellogg
Mrs. Frederic R. King
Mrs. Thomas W. Lamont
W. W. Lancaster
Herbert L. May
Frank Ross McCoy
Mrs. Howell Moorhead
H. Harvey Pike, Jr.
Francis T. P. Plimpton
George N. Shuster
Eustace Seligman
H. Alexander Smith
Maurice Wertheim

NATIONAL OFFICERS

Frank Ross McCoy, *President*
William T. Stone, *Vice-President**
William P. Maddox, *Assistant to the President*
Dorothy F. Leet, *Secretary*
William A. Eldridge, *Treasurer*
Carolyn Martin, *Assistant Treasurer*

WASHINGTON BUREAU

William T. Stone, *Director**
John I. B. McCulloch, *Acting, and Latin American Associate*
Anne Hartwell Johnstone Delia Goetz* Mary Hidding

SPEAKERS BUREAU

Frances J. Pratt

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

Vera Micheles Dean, *Director*

T. A. Bisson
Louis E. Frechtling
James Frederick Green*
Margaret La Foy
Helen Howell Moorhead
David H. Popper
Ona K. D. Ringwood, *Librarian*
John C. deWilde
Helen Terry, *Assistant Editor*

DEPARTMENT OF POPULAR EDUCATION

William T. Stone, *Director**

Laura Palmer Chase
Priscilla A. Duxbury
Elizabeth C. Fleckenstein
Anne Hartwell Johnstone
R. A. McKenna
Elizabeth Ogg

BRANCH CHAIRMEN

Albany, N. Y.—Dr. Frank P. Graves
Baltimore, Md.—Hon. Emory Niles
Bethlehem, Pa.—Dr. Benjamin L. Miller
Boston, Mass.—Harvey H. Bundy*
Buffalo, N. Y.—Hon. Charles B. Sears
Cincinnati, Ohio—Hon. Russell Wilson
Columbus, Ohio—Frank Bear
Detroit, Mich.—H. M. Robins
Elmira, N. Y.—Dr. Elton Arwater
Hartford, Conn.—Walter K. Schwinn
Minneapolis, Minn.—Rev. Raymond B. Bragg
Philadelphia, Pa.—George Stuart Patterson
Pittsburgh, Pa.—T. W. Pomeroy, Jr.
Providence, R. I.—Frederick R. Wulsin
St. Paul, Minn.—Kenneth L. Holmes
Springfield, Mass.—Dr. James Gordon Gilkey
Utica, N. Y.—Very Rev. D. Charles White
Worcester, Mass.—George R. Stobbs

NATIONAL COUNCIL

Admiral Richard E. Byrd
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt
Ben Cherrington
Mrs. M. C. Draper
Stephen P. Duggan
Charles K. Edmunds
Brooks Emeny
William Green
Manley O. Hudson
Mrs. Simon Kuhn
Thomas W. Lamont
Sam A. Lewisohn
Bishop Francis J. McConnell
Julian W. Mack
Rev. William P. Merrill
Robert A. Millikan
George W. Morgan
William A. Neilson
George Stuart Patterson
Roscoe Pound
Rev. Howard C. Robbins
Chester Rowell
Rt. Rev. William Scarlett
Silas H. Strawn
Henry W. Toll
Clifton Utley
A. Livingston Warnshuis
Edwin S. Webster
William Allen White
Michael Williams

*On leave of absence due to war emergency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 11/12/85 BY SP2TAP/CLS

The FPA in Wartime

SPS in/ab 9-27-88 #77 CIV 999

CENSORSHIP
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

[redacted]

Sea (S). Air (A). Land (L). O TRADE Registered No. Serial No. Page 1 of 2 pages

FROM: FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION INCORPORATED
22 EAST 38th STREET
NEW YORK

LIST: NONE

TO: GEORGE J. BEER
LIVERPOOL 110
MEXICO, D.F.

LIST: NONE

Date of letter (or dated):	To be photographed:	To whom photograph is to be sent:	DISPOSAL OF ORIGINAL COMMUNICATION:
JUNE 26, 1942			Held (H). Released (RELEASED). Condemned (C). Returned to sender (RS) Or sent with comment to:
Previous relevant records:	For interoffice use by A. C. or D. C. only:	Station distribution: ODR	
	Language: ENGLISH	Previously censored by:	

For use only	Division (or Section)	Table	Examiner	D. A. C.	Exam. date	Typing date
	PRESS	1	18142	2068	JUNE 29, 1942	MPB 6/30/42

COMMENT

ADB
AG
BEW
BF
BR
BP
CAA
CAN
CCC
CIAA
COI
COM
CRC
DL
ED
FDL
FCC
FR
FSA
FTC
IMM
INT
JSM
LC
MC
MID
ONI
OPA
PO
RFC
SC
SD
T
WPB

MILITARY

LIBYAN CAMPAIGN - ALLIED VERSUS AXIS WAR STRATEGY - LAVAL URGES COLLABORATION - NEW PUBLICATION ON STRATEGIC MATERIALS

Cover contains issue of "FOREIGN POLICY BULLETIN" for June 26, 1942.

I LIBYAN CAMPAIGN

German successes so far not crucial but sufficiently important to dispel false optimism and spur production in U.S.

German drive for oil now threatens allied hold on vital Middle East territories. Causes for German capture of TOBROUK: superior generalship and more and better equipment.

II ALLIED VERSUS AXIS WAR STRATEGY

The months to come will decide whether supreme Nazi effort will be across EGYPT, STRAITS OF KERCH and Caucasian territory or by air invasion of the LEVANT from CRETE. Allies are handicapped by the multiplicity of possible battlefronts in NEAR EAST and necessity for keeping JAPAN within bounds. CHINA'S situation, cut off from all, but a trickle of allied assistance, is growing more precarious, not because of immediate danger, but because of growing war weariness and appeasement sentiment.

Disparity between manpower and resources is diminishing in favor of allies, but submarines have so far prevented concentration of overwhelming volume of men and equipment in any major theater. Biggest Allied job therefore is to safeguard sea lanes and until this job is successfully accomplished, second major European front is problematical.

III LAVAL URGES COLLABORATION

LAVAL'S June 22nd speech is most outspoken pro-German plea yet heard from a French statesman. In his prisoner-laborer exchange proposal he destroyed hopes held for two years that French prisoners may be returned from GERMANY, as Vichy Government according to PETAIN'S admission has not succeeded in selling the people on collaboration.

Mr. Alden
Mr. Carson
Mr. Cunningham
Mr. Green
Mr. Gumbhart
Mr. Hoffmann
Laboratory
Mr. Mumford
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Strickland
Mr. Traynor
Mr. Timm

7 - NOT

7/6/42

Form OC-8 (Rev. April 1, 1942)

SPECIAL NOTICE—The attached information was taken from private communications, and its extremely confidential character must be preserved. The information must be confided only to those officials whose knowledge of it is necessary to prosecution of the war. In no case should it be widely distributed, or copies made, or the information used in legal proceedings or in any other public way without express consent of the Director of Censorship.

OFFICE OF CENSORSHIP
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

CONFIDENTIAL

TYPE OF CENSORSHIP: (M) M (C) C (P) P (T) TRADE

Sea (S) Air (A) O Land (L) L

Registered No.

Serial No.

Report No. LA-[illegible]

Page 2 of 2

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION INCORPORATED 22 EAST 38th STREET NEW YORK NONE	TO: GEORGE J. SNEH LIVERPOOL 110 MEXICO, D.F. INST: NONE

Date of letter (or [illegible] dated): JUNE 25, 1942	To be photographed:	To whom photograph is to be sent:	DISPOSAL OF ORIGINAL COMMUNICATION: Held (H): Released (R): [illegible] Condemned (C): Returned to sender (RS): Destroy with consent of sender:
Review relevant records:	For interoffice use by A. C. or D. C. only:	Station distribution: CDR	
	Language: ENGLISH	Previously censored by:	

Division (or Section)	Table	Examiner (Code)	D. A. O.	Examiner date	Typing Date
PRESS	1	12148	2058	JUNE 20, 1942	MPD 6/30/42

COMMENT

MILITARY

IV NEW PUBLICATION ON STRATEGIC MATERIALS
Advertisement: "REPLACEMENT OF STRATEGIC MATERIALS IN ASIA."
by L. B. FRECHTLING, June 15th issue of FOREIGN POLICY REPORTS.

EXAMINER'S NOTE: Identical release to following addressees:

MISS KATHERINE BRIGGS
YWCA
ARTICULO 123, NUMERO 110
MEXICO, D.F.

LUIS FELIPE CONTRERAS
31 BALDERAS ST. RMS. 205-207
MEXICO, D.F.

IGNACIO GARCIA TELLEZ
HAMBURGO 248
MEXICO, D.F.

MEXICAN LABOR NEWS
HARRY BLOCK
UNIVERSIDAD OBRERA
DE MEXICO
ROSALES 34 Y 36
MEXICO, D.F.

[illegible] Secretary of Labor. At one time [illegible] to have been precursor of German agent and to have allowed many Germans to enter country illegally when Secretary of Gobernacion. Also believed to have communist tendencies.

HARRY BLOCK is a Communist. An American. Collaborator of LOMBARDO TOLEDANO.

LA
[illegible] C 2041
6/30/42

FORM OC-8
(Rev. April 1, 1942)

SPECIAL NOTICE—This attached information was taken from private communications, and its extremely confidential character must be preserved. Information must be confided only to those officials whose knowledge of it is necessary for prosecution of the war. In no case should it be widely distributed, copies made, or the information used in legal proceedings or in any other manner without express consent of the Director of Censorship.

BYRON PRICE, Director

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16-[illegible]

CONFIDENTIAL

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Bureau of Investig
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E.A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffee
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Kramer
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

KRM:alo'd

Date: October 7, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MUMFORD

RE: FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

77 CIV 999
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-27-88 BY SB/alr

Attached hereto is photostatic material concerning the captioned matter obtained by the Washington Field Office from the files of Walter Steele of the National Republic Magazine. This material was made available gratuitously by Mr. Steele and was forwarded to the Bureau by letter from the Washington Field Office dated August 27, 1942.

Respectfully,

K. R. McIntire

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

Enclosures-

61-7802-6X

RECORDED & INDEXED

FOR VICTORY BUY UNITED STATES SAVINGS BONDS AND STAMPS

NOV 19 1942

5/8/34

A Sample of "Alice in Wonderland" Foreign Loan Policies of Present Administration

Although Premier Wang Ching-wei recently announced from Nanking that the United States wheat and cotton loan is likely to be reduced by $20,000,000 at China's request, it is authoritatively learned the reduction will exceed $25,000,000 and probably will total $30,000,000, leaving a net transaction of $10,000,000 in cotton, $4,000,000 in flour and $6,000,000 in wheat.

The wheat quota is nearly all absorbed, but only small flour shipments have been ordered and the cotton is moving slowly.

It begins to appear that the first venture of the new administration in playing Santa Claus to the Old World has been as futile as that which it so rightly condemned.

Date Ready to Explode

In the last issue we dealt extensively with the Communist Party convention held in Cleveland April 5, 6, 7 and its program of action. The other left-wing movement in the United States, the Socialist Party, now announces June 1-15 for its annual national convention to be held in Detroit, the scene of the 1920 affair which ended in a consolidated election campaign march of all rebel elements of the nation.

A six weeks' discussion of the agenda for the affair has been launched over the nation, to be finally approved on May 1st by all branches.

What will result from these two left-wing political affairs is speculative at this time, but two proposals of cooperation with communists and other radical groups in a "united front" in the election are up for consideration. Both movements have made considerable headway in the United States during the past year.

#77 C11999
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-22-88 BY SKS/cejab

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION - A PARENT BODY
NATIONAL COUNCIL

PERSON	OUTSIDE AFFILIATIONS
Bruce Bliven	New Republic
Paul U. Kellogg	Survey
Carlton J. H. Hayes	Columbia University
W.H.P. Faunce	Brown University
Roscoe Pound	Harvard University
William A. Neilson	President - Smith College
Miss Christina Merriman	Helped Organize the National Council for Prevention of War (Mr. Libby's Organization)
Julian W. Mack	Zionists Organization
Miss Ruth Morgan	Department of International Co-operation To Prevent War. National League of Women Voters.
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt	American Peace Award. New York League of Women Voters
Jane Addams (Miss)	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.
Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.
Rt. Rev. Charles H. Brent, D.D.	Bishop Episcopal Church Chaplain in United States Army.
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt	League of Women Voters Third Conference On Cause and Cure of War Hawaii and Amsterdam Conferences

Stephen F. Duggan	Institute of International Education Pacific Institute
Chester Rowell	Pacific Institute

Manley O. Hudson	Committee on Militarism in Education
Bishop Francis J. McConnell	Committee on Militarism in Education Chairman Commission on Church and Social Service - Federal Council of Churches
Dean William Scarlett	Committee on Militarism in Education
J. Henry Scattergood	Committee on Militarism in Education
William Allen White	Committee on Militarism in Education Editor
William Green	American Federation of Labor

Rev. John A. Ryan	Catholic Welfare Council

Sam A. Lewisohn	Important Jewish Organization
Paul M. Warburg	Important Jewish Organization

Miss Katharine Ludington	Chairman of Finance Committee- National League of Women Voters

---

Samuel Mather	Institute of Government Research Institute of Economics

---

Harold G. Moulton	Institute of Economics

Rev. William P. Merrill	World Alliance for International Friendship Through The Churches

---

Robert R. Moton	Hampton Institute (Negro)

phosis, mentally and intellectually; and somebody has, in view of the present situation, agreed that the reservation should be accepted. Well, it ought to be accepted and it ought to be forty times stronger that it is; it ought to be of such a character that it will be remembered in the days to come that we have established such a precedent that never again will there be permitted to arise a question as to documents, papers, books, and the like being withheld from the United States Senate in the discharge of its treaty-making function.

Mr. President, I did not intend to-day to do any talking, so far as that is concerned, but I will continue to speak if it be necessary to do so and if Senators who have to-day addressed the Senate desire. I am delighted—more than delighted—that to-day for the first time they have found their voices on this floor and are beginning to make some defense of this treaty. It is a glorious thing. Weeks have passed and mute they have sat, because they said they had the power. To-day, however, they are putting forth their voices, and I am delighted. We will meet them on that ground all day long and all to-morrow and all the next day, if they wish, and we will continue to debate this treaty, and debate it to the full all over again if it be so desired.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, I wish to say a few words before the reservation shall be voted on and to remind the Senate of the constant attack that is being made and that will continue to be made upon the treaty-making power of the Senate not only on this floor but by others in the United States. The treaty-making power of the Senate will be attacked by powerful organizations, heavily subsidized, carrying on a constant propaganda throughout the United States, not only on the platform but in the press, and by heavily subsidized propaganda through the mails. I do not find any fault with that. I have always believed that every American citizen has the right to hold his views and to express them; but those who think such views in error have an equal right to answer them.

I have here a pamphlet which is labeled "Confidential Memorandum for Members; November 11, 1929." It is prepared on behalf of men who are prominent in forming public policy in the United States, some of whom are prominent in the so-called Foreign Policy Association, an organization which since the Great World War has been laboring insistently—undoubtedly in good faith—to tie us up with the political organizations of Europe. I find that one of the eminent constitutional lawyers of this group is Mr. John W. Davis.

Let me read the names of those for whom, after consultation and conference, this pamphlet speaks. The pamphlet is captioned "The Anglo-American Naval Question: Report of a Study Group of Members of the Council on Foreign Relations."

The council on foreign relations consists of Hamilton Fish Armstrong, Isaiah Bowman, Raymond L. Buell, Arthur Bullard, Charles C. Burlingham, Joseph B. Chamberlain, John W. Davis, Allan Dulles, Raymond B. Fosdick, Col. E. M. House, Charles P. Howland (chairman), Philip C. Jessup, Walter Lippmann, J. G. McDonald, Walter H. Mallory, Whitney Shepardson, and James T. Shotwell.

This group has a policy as to the desirability of which they intend to educate the American people. The pamphlet has reference to this treaty, but the treaty is evidently only a portion of its program. If this pamphlet had been handed to us from the State Department, I would believe it was a document of instructions to the negotiators who went to the conference at London.

The document is filled with many of the eternal verities, but it has some very interesting and illuminating sentences giving us the future policy of the United States. The group referred to takes the position that the size of navies, speaking of the navies of Great Britain and the United States, is not important. They say what is important is the purpose for which the navies are to be used; that that is the overwhelming issue; and they have that all arranged. They propose that there shall be an alliance or an understanding between Great Britain and the United States to the effect that in the event of war they shall either both be belligerent or both be neutral.

They also have come to the conclusion that it would be impossible to get the Senate of the United States to agree in advance to a program of that kind, but they have found a way of getting around agreement on the part of the Senate, which they think it is necessary to do. A very naive way of getting around the Senate is proposed. It is claimed that the Kellogg pact has now placed the question of war or peace in the power of the Executive; that the decision of that question, like the Monroe doctrine, is exclusively an Executive prerogative.

I would not take the time to read from this pamphlet to the Senate if it were not for the fact that on some of its passages I desire to comment.

> A group of members of the council on foreign relations [illegible] in the season 1928–29 to consider the relations between the [illegible] States and Great Britain. The purpose of the study was to [illegible] attitudes of the two countries could be harmonized so as to [illegible] competitive navy building, recriminatory language, and ill will.

I think that was a very laudable purpose for anyone to confer upon.

> This report is merely the chairman's personal synthesis of the discussions, to which virtually all the members of the group contributed. It does not purport to represent the views of any individual member.
>
> The group did not claim to represent all sides of American opinion. There is, for example, a school of opinion not represented in this group which believes that the best way of handling Anglo-American relations from the American side is to impress British opinion by an actually large and potentially unlimited American Navy, so that the British will abandon their traditional position as rulers of the seas, and, whether at peace or at war, avoid injury to American interests. Without denying that the British tradition of supreme sea power, ingrained by four centuries of success, could not have been dislodged except by a showing on the part of the United States of a capacity at least to rival that sea power, the group, nevertheless, has proceeded on the assumption that something more than a showing of equal force is necessary, that competitive naval building creates irritation and lasting distrust, and that navies are likely to come into conflict unless some harmonious policy underlies their existence.
>
> It is needless to say that since the group's discussions began the course of public events and the attitude taken by the authorities in each country have greatly improved the situation. The change is so far a psychological one. The group believes that one way of solving the international problem is to give encouragement in each country to those forces which prefer international understanding and accommodation in the long run—

These last four words are in italics—

> to the use of a self-sufficient nationalism.
>
> After a long period of peace it might be necessary to insert in such a report as this an outline statement of the devastation, direct and indirect, created by a great modern war. Whatever country wins a military victory, it is certain that all alike suffer heavy financial and economic losses.

I think we can all subscribe to that.

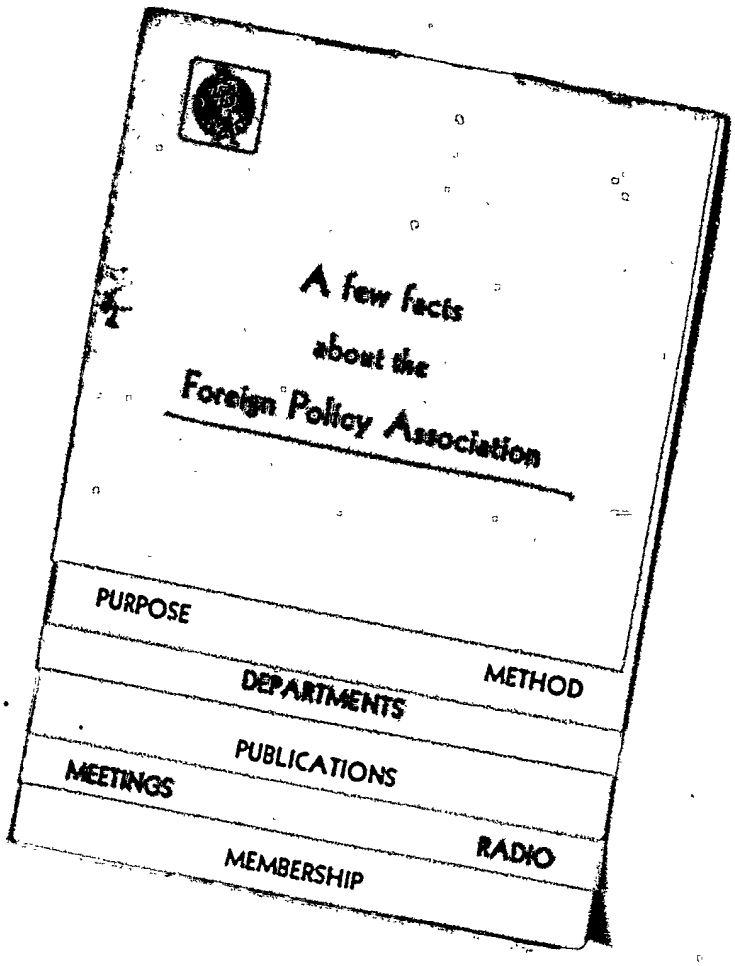
> So soon after the World War it is unnecessary to stress this point. Suffice it to say that any war of English-speaking peoples would involve a cultural devastation that would be well-nigh irreparable. A discussion which envisages the likelihood of a war between Great Britain and the United States would be sensational and shocking, and this is what public speakers mean by saying that such a war would be unthinkable, but unthinkability in this emotional sense affords the least of support for devising ways of averting or avoiding even the possibility of such a catastrophe.

I am sure we can all subscribe to that. I will add to that that I think it would be just as much of a calamity to the world if the United States should be at war with any other country. I would not confine that explicitly to Great Britain.

> Between Great Britain and the United States economic rivalry exists in various fields; for raw materials and for markets, in the carrying trade, and so on. No one contends that this rivalry involves any more serious possibilities than inhere in all wholesome economic competition.

That may be true. I hope it is. It is the same competition that existed between Spain and Great Britain, between France and Great Britain, and between Germany and Great Britain, and I hope it will not result in wars, as past history has shown that it usually has.

> The only subject of serious discussion is that which involves naval armaments and the law of the sea. The discussion can be narrowed still further, for there would be little support in the United States for a big navy except for the apprehension based on traditional [illegible] that in a war in which Great Britain is a belligerent and the United States a neutral the United States would need a large navy to prevent the British from interfering with the neutral right of trading with both belligerents. It would be a digression to argue this [illegible]; it is sufficient to say that the policing of the Caribbean requires no [illegible] able navy, and that because of Japanese economic dependence on United States trade, as well as her lack of resources for a protracted war, Japan has the best of reasons for keeping the peace with the United States. There is too much thrift in the United States to desire a large navy solely for prestige purposes. Even on the present scale the Navy Department will cost the country $[illegible] during the present fiscal year, or 9.3 per cent of the National Budget. A single battleship costs $20,000,000 to build, and her pay-roll item alone, not counting fuel and other supplies, drydock expense and maintenance, reaches $[illegible] a year. On the British side the naval budget for 1929 is £[illegible].


A few facts
about the
Foreign Policy Association
PURPOSE
METHOD
DEPARTMENTS
PUBLICATIONS
MEETINGS
RADIO
MEMBERSHIP

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

"The object of the Foreign Policy Association, Incorporated, is to carry on research and educational activities to aid in the understanding and constructive development of American foreign policy."

—F. P. A. Constitution

What Is It?

The Foreign Policy Association is a nation-wide organization of alert-minded men and women determined to try the fascinating experiment of building an informed public opinion on international affairs which shall have in it tolerance and the spirit of research. It is essentially an educational group and not a propaganda organization.

—And Why?

"A democracy which undertakes to control its own foreign relations ought to know something about the subject."

—Elihu Root

Where Is It?

National Headquarters: 18 East 41st Street, New York, N. Y.

Washington Bureau: 1226 National Press Building, Washington, D. C.

Branches in eighteen cities:

Albany	Columbus	Philadelphia	Springfield
Baltimore	Elmira	Providence	St. Paul
Boston	Hartford	Richmond	Toledo
Buffalo	Minneapolis	Rochester	Utica
Cincinnati			Worcester

Membership of over 12,000 distributed in 48 states and 28 foreign countries.

How It Functions

Through Discussion Meetings — Publications — Radio — Institutes and Study Groups.

How Financed

The Association has no endowment. Its operating expenses are covered entirely by membership fees, subscriptions to publications, sales of literature, and contributions from those who believe in its educational program.

PURPOSE METHOD

DEPARTMENTS

PUBLICATIONS

MEETINGS RADIO

MEMBERSHIP

National Headquarters

The National Headquarters staff numbers forty-five including the Administrative Officers.

The Research Department

under the direction of Raymond Leslie Buell, formerly of the Department of Government at Harvard, includes ten Research Associates, each one of whom is an expert in his or her particular field. In addition to preparing the regular F. P. A. publications, members of the Research Staff answer hundreds of inquiries for specific information, make many public speeches, and are constantly making their expert knowledge available in other ways.

The Promotion Bureau

is engaged in extending the "reach" of the F. P. A., enlisting the interest of new members, setting up exhibits at conferences, and cooperating with universities and colleges, libraries and other organizations in making available F. P. A. publications.

The Speakers Bureau

exists primarily to be of service to F. P. A. Branches and to arrange the New York discussion meetings. It suggests programs and speakers and, upon request, secures speakers for the Branches. It also assists other organizations in planning their programs on international affairs.

Write for "Program Suggestions."

The Washington Bureau

established three years ago, provides closer contact with government agencies, supplies a wealth of material to the Research Staff, and is the connecting link through which the fruits of research are made available to men of action. The Bureau is used by government officials, Washington newspaper correspondents, Senators and Representatives and members of foreign legations.

•

F. P. A. members are urged to visit the offices of the National Association in New York and Washington.

DEPARTMENTS

PUBLICATIONS

MEETINGS

RADIO

MEMBERSHIP

Publications

A fully cross-indexed price list of all F. P. A. publications sent free upon request.

News Bulletin

A two-page weekly which presents a lively interpretation of the current news in its relation to foreign affairs. It is so compact that it may be read in ten minutes. Free to F. P. A. members.

Subscription rate to non-members ..... $1.00 a year
(foreign postage 50c, additional)

Foreign Policy Reports

Published fortnightly; each issue deals with some one current international situation. The regularity with which these reports are consulted in editorial, business, academic and official circles is an indication of their enduring usefulness. Single copies 25c.

Subscription rate to F. P. A. members ..... $3.00 a year
to non-members ..... 5.00 a year
(foreign postage $1 additional)

Bound volumes of Foreign Policy Reports cross-indexed for ready reference.

to F. P. A. members $4.00 a copy
to non-members 5.00 a copy

Pamphlet Series

The Pamphlet Series consists chiefly of reprints of the especially significant New York Luncheon Discussions. Free to F. P. A. members; single copies 15c.

Radio Talks—See under Radio

Books

The F. P. A. also publishes occasional books written by members of the Research Staff which are available to F. P. A. members at reduced rates.

Through a special service of the Library at National Headquarters, books published in the United States, with a few exceptions, can be secured for F. P. A. members at a 10% discount.

F.P.A. Meetings for 1931-1932

New York Saturday Luncheon Discussions

SUBJECTS These regular F. P. A. meetings cover timely situations and problems in international affairs. Proponents of at least two differing points of view lead the discussion and answer questions from the floor. Notices are sent to members two weeks in advance, giving subject and speakers.

PLACE Hotel Astor, Broadway and 45th Street, New York.

TIME Luncheon 12.45 P.M.
Discussion 1:45-3:30 P.M.

DATES

November 21, 1931	February 6, 1932
December 5, 1931	February 20, 1932
December 19, 1931	March 5, 1932
January 9, 1932	March 19, 1932
January 23, 1932	April 2, 1932

PRICES

	Members	*Non-members*
Admission to Luncheon	$2.00	$2.50
The price of tickets includes gratuities		
Admission to Discussion Only		
First Balcony	$1.00	$2.00
Second Balcony*	$ .50	$1.00

** Students presenting school registration cards 25c.*

New York Dinner Discussions

Occasional dinner discussions will be held during the season.

Special Meetings

Special meetings are occasionally held in honor of persons whose official position will not permit them to take part in the discussion meetings.

Study Groups

Study groups will be held this season both in New York and the Branches. *Write for particulars.*

Branch Meetings

Each of the eighteen F. P. A. branches has its own schedule of meetings.

Radio

New York Luncheon Discussions

Beginning December 5, these discussions will be broadcast from 1:45 to 3:30 P.M., E.S.T. over WEAF-NBC network.

The World Today

James G. McDonald, Chairman of the F.P.A., broadcasts a fifteen minute talk on "THE WORLD TODAY" every Thursday evening at 7:15 E.S.T., over WEAF-NBC network. Single copies of the printed talks and monthly programs may be obtained free by writing to Mr. McDonald in care of the National Broadcasting Company, 711 Fifth Avenue, New York.

MEETINGS RADIO

MEMBERSHIP

Membership Will Bring You:

1. A reduced rate for F. P. A. meetings.
2. The *News Bulletin* every week for a year.
3. The *Pamphlet Series*—about ten issues a year.
4. A reduced rate on *Foreign Policy Reports*—$3.00 a year to members, $5.00 to non-members.
5. A 10% reduction on books published in the United States (with a few exceptions), provided the order is placed through National Headquarters.
6. The free use of the highly specialized library at National Headquarters.
7. Occasional publications or international documents not published by the F. P. A.
8. A personal participation in national education in foreign affairs.

Memberships run for one year from the month in which they are entered.

A person joining a Branch becomes thereby a member also of the National Association, and is entitled to membership privileges at any other Branch.

Detach this blank and return with your check.

Date _____

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION
INCORPORATED
18 East 41st Street, New York.

Enclosed is my remittance of $ _____ covering annual dues in the class of membership checked below.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

☐ Regular Membership	$ 5.00 a year
☐ Associate Membership—Open only to faculty and undergraduates in schools and colleges and to the clergy	3.00
(Subscription to Foreign Policy Reports $3.00 additional for Regular and Associate Members)	
☐ Co-operating Membership	10.00*
☐ Contributing Membership	25.00*
☐ Sustaining Membership	100.00*

Note:

*Three dollars of this membership is for a year's subscription to FOREIGN POLICY REPORTS.

One dollar of each membership is for a year's subscription to the NEWS BULLETIN.

MEMBERSHIP

(11)

F. P. A. National Board of Directors

James G. McDonald, *Chairman*

Grover Ellison
Joseph P. Chamberlain
Albert Lyle Deane
Mrs. M. C. Draper
Mrs. Leonard Elmhirst
Carlton J. H. Hayes
Charles P. Howland
Henry S. James
Charles W. Kellogg
Chairman, Finance Committee
Paul U. Kellogg

Mrs. Thomas W. Lamont
Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach
Allan W. Mack
Mrs. Helen Hewell Moorhead
Rush Morgan
Walter H. Pollak
Very Rev. Howard C. Robbins
Ralph S. Rounds
Bernard Schermerhorn
Lucius D. Wolf
A. Livingston Wurdeman

National Officers

James G. McDonald
Chairman

Rush Morgan
Vice-Chairman

Albert Lyle Deane
Treasurer

Esther G. Ogden
Secretary

Caroline E. Marsh
Assistant Treasurer

Olive L. Sawyer
Assistant to the Chairman

Research Department

Barnard Leslie Dell
Director

Speakers Bureau

Francis J. Finn
Director

Washington Bureau

William T. Stone

National Council

Jane Addams
Robert W. Bingham
George H. Blakeslee
Roland W. Boyden
Charles L. Cornish
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt
Stephen P. Duggan
Charles K. Edmunds
Frank J. Goodnow
William Green
Walter D. Hines
Manley O. Hudson
Mrs. Stone Kahn
Thomas W. Lamont
Sara A. Lewinski
Samuel Marbury
Herbert L. May

Dalton Francis J. McDonald
Rev. William P. Merrill
Mrs. James Minnigerode
Robert R. Moton
William A. Nolting
George Grant Peabody
Ernest Poole
Henry Rand
Rev. John A. Ryan
Mrs. Stephen Sanford
Jeremiah Smith, Jr.
Silas H. Strawn
Paul M. Warburg
Owen D. Young
William Allen White
Michael Cudahy
Owen D. Young

October, 1938.

F.P.A. Meetings for 1931-1932

New York Saturday Luncheon Discussions

SUBJECTS These regular F. P. A. meetings cover timely situations and problems in international affairs. Proponents of at least two differing points of view lead the discussion and answer questions from the floor. Notices are sent to members two weeks in advance, giving subject and speakers.

PLACE Hotel Astor, Broadway and 45th Street, New York.

TIME Luncheon 12.45 P.M.
Discussion 1:45-3:30 P.M.

DATES

November 21, 1931	February 6, 1932
December 5, 1931	February 20, 1932
December 19, 1931	March 5, 1932
January 9, 1932	March 19, 1932
January 23, 1932	April 2, 1932

PRICES

	Members	New members
Admission to Luncheon	$2.00	$2.50
The price of tickets includes gratuities		
Admission to Discussion Only		
First Balcony	$1.00	$2.00
Second Balcony*	$ .50	$1.00

** Students presenting school registration cards 25c.*

New York Dinner Discussions

Occasional dinner discussions will be held during the season.

Special Meetings

Special meetings are occasionally held in honor of persons whose official positions will not permit them to take part in the discussion meetings.

Study Groups

Study groups will be held this season both in New York and the Branches. *Write for particulars.*

Branch Meetings

Each of the eighteen F. P. A. branches has its own schedule of meetings.

Radio

New York Luncheon Discussions

Beginning December 5, these discussions will be broadcast from 1:45 to 3:30 P.M., E.S.T., over WEAF-NBC network.

The World Today

James G. McDonald, Chairman of the F.P.A., broadcasts a fifteen minute talk on "THE WORLD TODAY" every Thursday evening at 7:15 E.S.T., over WEAF-NBC network. Single copies of the printed talks and monthly programs may be obtained free by writing to Mr. McDonald in care of the National Broadcasting Company, 711 Fifth Avenue, New York.

RADIO

MEETINGS

MEMBERSHIP

(12)

Membership Will Bring You:

1. A reduced rate for F. P. A. meetings.
2. The *News Bulletin* every week for a year.
3. The *Pamphlet Series*—about ten issues a year.
4. A reduced rate on *Foreign Policy Reports*—$3.00 a year to members, $5.00 to non-members.
5. A 10% reduction on books published in the United States (with a few exceptions), provided the order is placed through National Headquarters.
6. The free use of the highly specialized library at National Headquarters.
7. Occasional publications or international documents not published by the F. P. A.
8. A personal participation in national education in foreign affairs.

●

Memberships run for one year from the month in which they are entered.

●

A person joining a Branch becomes thereby a member also of the National Association, and is entitled to membership privileges at any other Branch.

Detach this blank and return with your check.

Date _____

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION
INCORPORATED

18 East 41st Street, New York.

Enclosed is my remittance of $ _____ covering annual dues in the class of membership checked below.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

☐ Regular Membership	$ 5.00 a year
☐ Associate Membership—Open only to faculty and undergraduates in schools and colleges and to the clergy	3.00 "
(Subscription to Foreign Policy Reports $3.00 additional for Regular and Associate Members)	
☐ Cooperating Membership	10.00* "
☐ Contributing Membership	25.00* "
☐ Sustaining Membership	100.00* "

Note:

*Three dollars of this membership is for a year's subscription to FOREIGN POLICY REPORTS.

One dollar of each membership is for a year's subscription to the NEWS BULLETIN.

MEMBERSHIP

(13)

F. P. A. National Board of Directors

James G. McDonald, Chairman

Bruce Bliven
Joseph P. Chamberlin
Albert Lyle Deane
Mrs. M. C. Draper
Mrs. Leonard Hand
Carlton J. H. Hayes
Charles P. Howland
Ellery S. James
Charles W. Kellogg
Chairman, Finance Committee
Paul U. Kellogg

Mrs. Thomas W. Lamont
Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach
Julian W. Mack
Mrs. Helen Howell Moorhead
Ruth Morgan
Walter H. Pollak
Very Rev. Howard C. Robbins
Ralph S. Rounds
Maurice Sheehan
Lillian D. Wald
A. Livingston Wallbridge

National Officers

James G. McDonald
Chairman

Ruth Morgan
Vice-Chairman

Albert Lyle Deane
Treasurer

Esther G. Ogden
Secretary

Caroline F. Martin
Assistant Treasurer

Clive L. Sawyer
Assistant to the Chairman

Research Department
Raymond Leslie Buell
Director

Speakers Bureau
Frances J. Frost
Director

Washington Bureau
William T. Stone

National Council

Jane Addams
Robert W. Bingham
George H. Blakeslee
Roland W. Boyden
Charles L. Cousins
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt
Stephen P. Duggan
Charles R. Edmonds
Frank J. Goodnow
William Green
Walter D. Hines
Manley O. Hudson
Mrs. Simon Kuhn
Thomas W. Lamont
Sam A. Lewisohn
Samuel Mather
Herbert L. May

Bishop Francis J. McConnell
Rev. William P. Merrill
Mrs. Jesse Montgomery
Robert R. Moton
William A. Neilson
George Sidney Paterson
Roscoe Pound
Chester Rowell
Rev. John A. Ryan
Dean Christian Gauss
Jeremiah Smith, Jr.
Silas H. Strawn
Paul M. Warburg
Edwin S. Webster
William Allen White
Michael Williams
Owen D. Young

October, 1938.

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION
(Formerly the League of Free Nations Association)

For a Liberal and Constructive American Foreign Policy

National Headquarters

3 West Twenty-Ninth Street, New York City

Robert H. Gardiner Treasurer
Christina Merriman Executive Secretary
Telephone Longacre 0050 Cable Address Lofna, New York

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
James G. McDonald, Chairman
Edwin Bjorkman
Mrs. George W. Coleman
Courtenay Crocker
Stephen P. Duggan
Hughell Fosbroke
Robert H. Gardiner
Carlton J.H. Hayes
Charles P. Howland
Alvin Johnson
Paul U. Kellogg
George W. Kirchwey
Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach
Owen R. Lovejoy
Ralph S. Rounds
Mrs. V. G. Simkhovitch
Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany
Miss Lillian D. Wald

NATIONAL COUNCIL
The Executive Committee
and
Miss Jane Addams, Illinois
Arthur E. Bestor, New York
Rt. Rev. Benjamin Brewster, D.D. Maine
John Graham Brooks, Massachusetts
Charles C. Burlingham, New York
George Burnham, Jr. Pennsylvania
Miss Mabel Choate, New York
Winston Churchill, Vermont
John Dewey, New York
Frank Haigh Dixon, New Jersey
Robert Erskine Ely, New York
Mrs. W. Malcolm Forbes, Massachusetts
Felix Frankfurter, Massachusetts
Ferris Greenslet, Massachusetts
Frederic C. Howe, District of Columbia
Horace M. Kallen, Massachusetts
Edward Krehbiel, California
Thomas W. Lamont, New York
Sam A. Lewisohn, New York
Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Pennsylvania
Julian W. Mack, Illinois
Miss Ruth Morgan, New York
Robert R. Moton, Alabama
Mrs. Beverley B. Munford, Virginia
William A. Neilson, Massachusetts
Mrs. Gordon Norrie, New York
J.J. Pettijohn, Minnesota
Gifford Pinchot, Pennsylvania
Roscoe Pound, Massachusetts
Very Rev. Howard C. Robbins, New York
Rev. John A. Ryan, District of Columbia
Henry R. Seager, New York
Graham Taylor, Illinois
John A. Voll, Pennsylvania
Henry M. Waite, New York
Frank P. Walsh, Missouri
Mrs. H. Otto Wittpenn, New Jersey

(5)

May 8, 1955

* * * * * *

The Foreign Policy Association, ".....to carry on research and educational activities to aid in the understanding and constructive development of American foreign policy."
What it is: The Foreign Policy Association is an American organization of men and women engaged in the formation of an enlightened public opinion on international affairs, based on facts and imbued with tolerance and the spirit of research.
It is an educational group and not a partisan organization.
It has no endowment; its operating expenses are covered by membership fees, subscriptions to publications, sales of literature, and contributions from those who believe in its research work and its educational program.
Where it is: National Headquarters: 8 West 40th Street, New York, N.Y.; Washington Bureau: National Press Building, Washington, D.C.; branches in seventeen cities; the membership is distributed in 48 states and 38 foreign countries.
How it functions: Through discussion meetings with authoritative speakers on international problems at which differing points of view are presented. Through Institutes and Study Groups.
Through Publications: Foreign Policy Reports, Headline Books, Foreign Policy Bulletin, Washington News Letter and Pamphlets.

WHO'S WHO in the FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

National Officers

Raymond Leslie Buell, President
William T. Stone, Vice-President
William A. Eldridge, Treasurer
Esther G. Ogden, Secretary
Carolyn Martin, Assistant Treasurer

National Board of Directors

James G. McDonald, Honorary Chairman
Joseph P. Chamberlain, Chairman
Mrs. Henry C. Leach, Vice-Chairman

Bruce Bliven
Raymond Leslie Buell
William A. Eldridge
Ernest Gruening
Mrs. Learned Hand
Carlton J. H. Hayes
Paul U. Kellogg
Mrs. Thomas W. Lamont
A. W. Lancaster
Herbert L. May
Mrs. Howell Moorhead
Mrs. Dwight W. Morrow
H. Harvey Pike, Jr.
Francis T. P. Plimpton
Walter H. Pollak
Ralph S. Rounds
Dr. Florence R. Sabin
Eustace Seligman
H. Alexander Smith
Chairman, Finance Committee

(16)

Washington Bureau
William T. Stone
David H. Popper
Ruth Stanford, Membership Secretary

Speakers Bureau
Frances J. Pratt

Research Department

Raymond Leslie Buell, Director
Vera Micheles Dean, Editor
T. A. Bisson
Helen Howell Moorhead
Ona K. D. Ringwood, Librarian
Charles A. Thomson
Mildred S. Wertheimer
John C. de Wilde
Elizabeth Satterham, Secretary
Helen Terry, Assistant Editor

Department of Popular Education

William T. Stone, Director
Rylis A. Goslin, Editor
Omer P. Goslin, Educational Secretary
Marguerite Ann Stewart, Secretary, Student Committee

Assistants

Margaret Gilfillan
Rose McKenna

Branch Chairmen

Albany, N. Y.	Rt. Rev. G. A. Oldham
Baltimore, Md.	Emory H. Niles
Boston, Mass.	Christian A. Herter
Buffalo, N. Y.	Hon. Charles B. Sears
Cincinnati, Ohio	Hon. Russell Wilson
Columbus, Ohio	H. Schuyler Foster, Jr.
Elmira, N. Y.	Dr. Amy M. Gilbert
Hartford, Conn.	Berkeley Cox
Minneapolis, Minn.	Dr. David Bryn-Jones
Philadelphia, Pa.	Francis Biddle
Pittsburgh, Pa.	Bayard H. Christy
Providence, R. I.	William H. Edwards
St. Paul, Minn.	Thomas L. Daniels
Springfield, Mass.	Arthur C. Dutton
Toledo, Ohio	Philip Curtis Nash
Utica, N. Y.	Arthur M. Gleason
Worcester, Mass.	Dr. George H. Blakeslee

National Council

Robert W. Bingham
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt
Mrs. M. C. Draper
Stephen P. Duggan
Charles K. Edmunds
William Green
Manley O. Hudson
Mrs. Simon Kuhn
Thomas W. Lamont
Sam A. Lewisohn
Bishop Francis J. McConnell
Julian W. Mack
Rev. William P. Merrill
Robert A. Millikin
George W. Morgan

(17)

Robert R. Moton
William A. Neilson
George Stuart Patterson
Roscoe Pound
Rev. Howard C. Robbins
Chester Rowell
Rev. John A. Ryan
Rt. Rev. William Scarlett
Silas H. Strawn
Felix M. Warburg
A. Livingston Wornshius
Edwin S. Webster
William Allen White
Michael Williams
Owen D. Young

* * * * * *

The Foreign Policy Association cannot be understood without a background of the American Civil Liberties Union crowd which got it up. The American Civil Liberties Union crowd was in existence before the American Civil Liberties Union was formed and has since been added to and it is not confined to members of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The People's Council was one of the rottenest and most disloyal things gotten up during war times and as such was incontinently kicked out of Minnesota by Governor Burnquist and out of Chicago by Governor Lowden. The German agent Lochner was one of its chief promoters. In it were many people who were afterwards prominent in the American Civil Liberties Union and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. In it also we find various radical politicians such as Lynn J. Frazier and some others of his gang. In it also were noted anarchists, Communists and members of the I.W.W. It was the sort of crowd that the German agent Lochner thought could be used to be disloyal to and undermine the United States during war times. This affair was one of those merged into the American Civil Liberties Union.

Another affair which went indirectly into the American Civil Liberties Union was anarchist Berkman's League for Amnesty of Political Prisoners gotten up to help the dynamiters and anarchist criminals who were in jail. Berkman himself was in jail at the time and his mistress, M. Eleanor Fitzgerald, was doing the outside work for him. She was an extremely able and clever organizer. Berkman wrote from jail to his cousin, Minna Lowenschn, asking her to help Fitzie, as Fitzgerald was called, with the organization of this work and these letters are in existence in Philadelphia. Lowenschn was a Russian nihilist who came over here and flocked with the anarchists and Communists. She had a scar on her forehead which she said was caused by a fragment of the bomb which was used to murder one of the Russian officials and she claimed she had a second bomb to throw if the first one was not effective. It is believed that this claim was true.

A number of others active in the People's Council were in Berkman's League. Norman Thomas, one of the People's Council organizers and also one of the American Civil Liberties Union National Committee, described Roger Nash Baldwin, the American

Civil Liberties Union chief leader and most active organizer from first to last, as a philosophical anarchist. He was in Berkman's League for Amnesty of Political Prisoners and a constant associate of the Berkman anarchist gang and of Communists. He was jailed during war times and had been a member of the I.W.W. His title in the American Civil Liberties Union is that of director. He is in quite a number of Communist organizations as well. The American Civil Liberties Union is representative of those elements - Communist, anarchist, I.W.W., the yellows, the disloyalists, the pacifists who put egotism before patriotism, the criminal dynamiting element in union labor and the purchaseable element in union labor and other things that the German Espionage Service sought to and succeeded to some extent in using during war times against the United States.

When German money began to fail the bolsheviki were flush with the spils of their plunder and they endeavored to take over these various anti-patriotic elements that the German Espionage Service had been using and to some extent succeeded and turned them over to the Communist Party of America for use in their own espionage system, and out of this element was molded the American Civil Liberties Union and various other affairs of the sort which, directly or indirectly and under various conditions of camouflage, are useful to the Communist enemies of the country guided by Soviet Russia.

As was most thoroughly demonstrated in the hearings before the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate on the recognition of Soviet Russia, the Soviet Government has been steadily plotting against the United States and its agents and representatives in this country are virtually the spies of a hostile power. The Communist Party of Russia owns the Soviet Government and the Third or Communist International, known also as the Comintern. The same six or seven men absolutely control these three organizations. The Soviet Government pretends that it has no control over the Third International but that has been so forquently and so completely demonstrated to be a deliberate lie that no one but a very willing swallower of Communist propaganda would profess to believe it. Certainly anyone well informed on the subject knows that it is deliberately false. The Soviet Government and the Third International are the two hands of the Communist Party of Russia.

Lenin said that the Communists must learn to build communism with non-Communists hands and they have proceeded to do so and many of those who put over Communist propaganda are utterly unaware that they are doing so and are theoretically opposed to communism.

When the Coolidge Administration refused to recognize Soviet Russia the Communists boasted that thought they were refused admission at the front door of the United States they would get in at the back and openly said that they would bring sufficient pressure to bear on the government, through the special interests of those who put dollars before patriotism, that they would accomplish

recognition, and this they have been constantly striving for and have most adroitly used non-Communist hands for that end. They have succeeded.

Now one of the chief tools of the Communists has been the American Civil Liberties Union and we find many of the American Civil Liberties Union crowd openly aiding communism and in openly Communist affairs such as the Communist Party of America, the All-America Anti-Imperialist League, the National Council for the Protection of Foreign Born Workers, the Workers International Relief, while other affairs better camouflaged but still aiding communism and gotten up by the American Civil Liberties Union crowd are the League for Industrial Democracy, which is the Intercollegiate Socialist Society with its name changed and whose first president, Jack London, was a confessed criminal and jailbird, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Church League for Industrial Democracy, which was successor to the Church Socialist League, the Peoples Lobby, the National Popular Government League and dozens of others.

The American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia was one of these affairs. It constantly puts over pro-Soviet propaganda, and incidentally its Chicago branch helped obtain money for the Communist organ, the Daily Worker, which is professedly out to overthrow the government of the United States by force and violence and establish a Communist dictatorship in its place.

Just here it is well to quote the conclusions of the Lusk Committee Investigating Revolutionary Radicalism and the Fish Committee Investigating Communism as to the American Civil Liberties Union. The American Civil Liberties Union has made a specialty of supporting subversive criminals and, when these criminals have gotten into the toils of the law for the specific crimes they have committed, they have taken up collections in many instances under the false pretext that the criminals were being deprived of their constitutional right of free speech and so they have thriven by encouragement of and aid to subversive criminals and subversive crime and obtaining money under false pretenses. They even went so far in the Tapolcsanyi case as to say that when Tapolcsanyi's naturalization was revoked because it was obtained by perjury and fraud that Tapolcsanyi was being deprived of his right of free speech! They took up the agitation for the anarchist murderers Mooney and Billings , for the I.W.W. murderers Ford and Suhr, for the Communist-anarchist murderers Sacco and Vanzetti, for the I.W.W. murderers of American Legion men at Centralia and helped the Communist Party turn these cases into Communist propaganda and have done other things of the sort. The Lusk Committee stated:

> "If we analyze the position taken by the American Civil Liberties Union we will find that what is sought is not freedom of speech, freedom of ~~speech~~ or freedom of assembly, but license."

and

> "The American Civil Liberties Union, in the last analysis,

> is a supporter of all subversive movements.....
> It attempts not only to protect crime but encourage attacks upon our institutions in every form."

and the Fish Committee, after endorsing the findings of the Lusk Report, stated:

> "The American Civil Liberties Union is closely affiliated with the Communist movement in the United States and fully 90% of its efforts are on behalf of Communists who have come into conflict with the law. It claims to stand for free speech, free press and free assembly, but it is quite apparent that the main function of the American Civil Liberties Union is to attempt to protect the Communists in their advocacy of force and violence to overthrow the government, replacing the American Flag by a red flag".

and adds that it is:

> "an organization whose main work is to uphold the Communists in spreading revolutionary propaganda and inciting revolutionary activities to undermine our American institutions and overthrow our Federal Government."

Now another of these affairs that was gotten up by the American Civil Liberties Union crowd is the Foreign Policy Association and in connection with this attention must be again called to Lenin's injunction that the Communists must learn to build communism with non-communist hands and Communist boast that though excluded at the front door of the United States they would get in the back door through the desire for money of those who put self before patriotism. We must also remember that the Foreign Policy Association is but one of many organizations gotten up by the American Civil Liberties Union crowd, each of which takes up one particular branch of Communist endeavor.

The appeal of the Foreign Policy Association is for recognition of the Soviet Government of Russia. This is camouflaged as much as possible.

The Foreign Policy Association was made up in the first instance largely from the American Civil Liberties Union crowd, who were the guides for proceedings, with such additions as could be gotten from people whose special money-making interests would be a temptation to wish the Soviet Government to be recognized, and from theorists and pacifists who could be played on and people who could be fooled into unconsciously lending their names as respectable fronts in order to help camouflage the organization. They calculated that international bankers who might be interested in doing business with Russia, exporters of cotton and machinery, importers of manganese and lumber, and other business men of the sort would be glad to advocate recognition for purely selfish reasons and could readily have their consciences salved by clever

excuses cooked up by the Communists, and the scheme has been eminently successful. They also appeal to people's vanity, representing the Association as a sort of super-intelligensia affair, and even succeeded in Philadelphia in making the affair appear as a sort of fashionable thing which it was a social distinction to belong to, and some of those whose names were put forward as bait have doubtless played their assigned parts quite unconsciously.

The role of the Foreign Policy Association has been to pretend to be perfectly impartial and as to some questions it doubtless has been, but when it comes to recognition of Russia it has always taken care that when debates were staged of those for the recognition and those against, the recognitionists were of the Communist propaganda order who had much more knowledge of the subject and were as a rule much brighter people than their opponents and who did not hesitate at any smooth and plausible mendacity to get the best of the argument, so that those who listened to them would be persuaded to their side of the question while the opposition, being more or less limited to the truth and knowing much less about the subject, could not readily refute the arguments of the able propagandists, so that the respectable fronts in this organization have often been quite unconsciously lending themselves to a very subtle Communist game and have been so completely fooled that first they have swallowed the Communist propaganda put before them, including the idea that the Foreign Policy Association is not Communist-influenced, and second, had that very natural inclination of all human beings who have been taken in to protest that they have not been taken in and are not Communist dupes. Of course their protests that they themselves are not Communists are quite beside the point for the Lenin machine is building communism with non-Communist hands.

Let us turn to the origin of the Foreign Policy Association. Quite a number of years ago when the Senate investigation od radicalism and red to pink semi-disloyalists or thorough disloyalists was made and names of a number of these people were published first in the Senate investigation and two years later by the Department of Justice, there was a great protest on the part of the sympathizers with the exposed and what was then the favorite slogan of the Communists for getting over their propaganda, "Hear the other side", was much in evidence. One of those who protested against the investigation and shouted "hear the other side", was James G. McDonald, president of the Foreign Policy Association.

The Survey has been known for some time as at least a pink affair in which the American Civil Liberties Union crowd have much influence. The Civil Liberties Bureau was one of the predecessors of the American Civil Liberties Union and in the Civil Liberties Bureau we find Paul U. Kellogg.

Arthur Gleason was vice-president of the American Civil Liberties Union crowd's League for Industrial Democracy and director of its coordinated Labor Publication Society with quite a number of

reds. He had been one of the founders of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, which is the League for Industrial Democracy.

The Rand School was red and disloyal during the war and Mr. Paul U. Kellogg was one of its supporters. He was an editor of the Survey. He helped the Communists in the Passaic Strike. Norman Hapgood's "Professional Patriots" is a thesis of mendacity which was meant to discredit those working for patriotism and help the Communist cause and it was meant to discredit those working for patriotism and help the Communist cause and it was published in the Communist organ, the Daily Worker, as Communist propaganda. A typical statement in it was that the Massachusetts Public Interests League was gotten up by employers to fight the Child Labor Amendment, the truth being that the Massachusetts Public Interests League was not gotten up by employers and that it was gotten up about eleven years before there was any Child Labor Amendment to fight. Kellogg's name appears in Professional Patricys as one of the endorsers. When the Communists got up the Sacco and Vanzetti agitation in an endeavor to discredit courts and law, in which they were helped by the American Civil Liberties Union crowd, we find Kellogg signing an appeal for Sacco and Vanzetti and furnishing bail for Powers Hapgood when he was arrested in this agitation. The National Citizens Committee on Relations with Latin America did much to set Latin America against the United States and help along the Communist game, and we find Kellogg in this. He, like James G. McDonald, was one of those who protested against the Senate investigation in 1919 and parroted "hear the other side". He was in the League for the Organization of Progress of this crowd, which seems to have had a decidedly socialistic idea of what progress consisted of. This crowd are very fond of the term "political prisoners", which was first given currency in this country, it is believed, by the anarchist, Alexander Berkman, and which is used to denote those subversive criminals who have gotten intoathe toils of the law. When the American Civil Liberties Union crowdgot up the International Committee for Political Prisoners we find Kellogg on its general committee. Its president was Roger Nash Baldwin, the philosophical anarchist and leader of the American Civil Liberties Union, and in it we find quite a number of American Civil Liberties Union National Committeemen such as Clarence Darrow, W. E. B. DuBois, Sherwood Eddy, Felix Frankfurter, Arthur Garfield Hays, John Haynes Holmes, David Starr Jordan, Robert Morss Lovett, James H. Maurer, Fremont Older, John A. Ryan, Norman Thomas and B. Charney Vladeck. We also find on it the anrachist Carlo Tresca, editor of the anarchist paper "Il Martello", and the anarchist Harry Kelly, former editor of the anarchist paper "Freedom - A Journal of Constructive Anarchy". There also we find Francis Fisher Kane of the American Civil Liberties Union and like Felix Frankfurterone of the National Popular Government League twelve who gave out to the press the charges against the Department of Justice found by the Sterling Committee of the Senate investigating them to be utterly false and which were in fact merely the stock lies of the anarchists and Communists who were being deported. Graham R. Taylor is also there and Norman Hapgood and others of the sort. Again we find Kellogg in the American League for India's

Freedom, which was helping along the Communist agitation in India against England, and here again we find Roger Nash Baldwin and Margaret Sanger, of birth control fame, who were bothmembers of Berkman's League for Amnesty of Political Prisoners. Harry Weinberger, Berkman's counsel, Mary Ware Dennett and a number of the American Civil Liberties Union National Committee such as Arthur Garfield Hays, Clarence Darrow, John Haynes Holmes, Oswald Garrison Villard and N man Thomas, and also Stephen S. Wise and Will Durant were in it.

Now let us turn to the proceedings of the annual meeting of the Foreign Policy Association, April 28, 1926, whichtolls of the initiators were no other than Paul U. Kellogg and Arthur Gleason, and so the Foreign Policy Association was born. The group organized themselves, according to the Foreign Policy Association official report, into the League of Free Nations Association, and it was then that president James G. McDonald said he had the good fortune to join the group, though he did not become chairman until 1919. The name was changed to Foreign Policy Association in 1921. Let us now turn to the Foreign Policy Association letterhead on which is written an official letter of July 3, 1934, by its membership secretary. James G. McDonald was chairman of the executive committee, and on the executive committee we find Bruce Bliven, Carlton J. H. Hayes, one of those exposed in the Lusk Report and one of the American Civil Liberties Union crowd, Paul U. Kellogg, Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach and Miss Lillian D. Wald, a subscriber to American Civil Liberties Union funds, stockholder in the Liberator and in a number of American Civil Liberties Union crowd affairs.

The Willard Straight Post of the American Legion has, it is believed, at last had its charter revoked. Mr. Allen S. Olmsted, 2nd, was one of its members. The forte of this Post was to go counter to the patriotic policies of other Posts of the American Legion and to make it appear that the Legion was divided. It had, it is believed, about twenty-two members. Mrs. Willard Straight financed this Post. She was an intimate friend of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Lamont and had quite an influence over Mrs. Lamont. Mr. and Mrs. Lamont's names appear on the Foreign Policy Association national council, for which great prestige was claimed in consequence. Mr. Lamont is a member of the international bankers, J. P. Morgan and Company, though it must not be thought for an instant that either Mr. J. P. Morgan, Sr., or Mr. J. P. Morgan, Jr., had the slightest sympathy for or were willing to aid communism in any way. When Mr. Lamont was inquired og about the Foreign Policy Association some years ago he professed to know very little about it and seemed to take all that Mr. James G. McDonald said on faith without investigation. Mr. Lamont's son, Corliss Lamont, has come out openly in aid of various Communist causes and he expressed his sympathy with communism though has stated, it is understood, that he is not a member of the Communist Party. Some of his Communist ideas he is said to have learned at the Harvard Liberal Club and to have imbibed others from a friend of his parents.

Carlton J. H. Hayes was exposed in the Luck Report as a signer of a circular asking financial aid for I.W.W. and war obstructors. He is on the national council of the Committee on Militarism in Education. His book "Modern History" has a strong, anti-patriotic and radical trend and has been condemned as unpatriotic. He was chairman of the executive board of the National Conference of Jews and Christians gotten up by the radical crowd. At a meeting of the ultra-pacifist Committee on Militarism in Education Hayes sneered at respect for Old Glory and the Liberty Bell, which he called "the religion of nationalism". He spoke of the "cult for worship of the Flag" and sneered at such patriotic observance in general. Captain George E. Darte at that time described Hayes as one who raises the red flag in time of peace and the white flag in time of war.

On the National Council of the Foreign Policy Association in 1924 we find the following members of the American Civil Liberties Union National Committee: Miss Jane Addams, Bishop Benjamin Brewster of Maine, John Dewey, Felix Frankfurter, Frederic C. Howe exposed in an investigation of the House of Representatives as helping the anarchists and Communists who had been arrested, William A. Neilson, president of Smith College, Father John A. Ryan and Frank P. Walsh who, like Franfurter, was one of the National Popular Government League twelve parroting the stock lies of the anarchists and Communists against the Department of Justice. There also we find Roscoe Pound, who was another of the National Popular Government League twelve and one of the American Civil Liberties Union crowd, and John Graham Brooks, who had been one of the organizations merged into the American Civil Liberties Union. Others of the American Civil Liberties Union crowd on this national council of the Foreign Policy Association are Stephen P. Duggan, Horace M. Kallen of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, Sam A. Lewisohn, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America who has recently been dropped from that position largely through pressure brought to bear by those who wished to purge the Federal Council of American Civil Liberties Union influence, Graham Taylor, etc.

The Foreign Policy Association, then, was originated and dominated by the American Civil Liberties Union.

Morris Hillquit, who was prominent in socialistic circles, was at one time counsel for Communist affairs in this country and in June 1924 we find McDonald bracketed with Hillquit as speaker for the League for Industrial Democracy. Part of the Communist game is to disarm all countries opposed to Soviet Russia and the National Council for Prevention of War, gotten up largely by that virtually feminine branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, plays this game and announced that Soviet Russia had found an advocate in its bulletin. McDonald was vice chairman of this organization. The Labor Institute Forum is a Communist affair and we find McDonald listed as one of its speakers in 1927-28. Ralph M. Easley, of the National Civic Federation, wrote a letter in March 1929 exposing

the Foreign Policy Associationand James G. McDonald and Tom Lamont in relation thereto. McDonald made an address to the clergy in June 1931 well calculated to turn them against capitalism. In an address before the Foreign Policy Association Philadelphia Branch, McDonald declared that the foreign policy of Russia was dominated by the desire to maintain peace. Then he put over that very stale, worm-eaten chestnut of Communist propaganda stating, "But the endeavor of the Russian Government to convince the world of its peaceful intentions are hampered frequently by the activities of the Russian Communist Party and the Third Internationale, NEITHER OF WHICH THE GOVERNMENT HAD POWER TO CONTROL". It can be shown that Mr. McDonald knew of the falsity of this statement, which is one of the stock lies of Communist propaganda but so often exploded that it now deceives few except willing suckers.

In a very able paper issued in April 1929 Matthew Woll, vice president of the American Federation of Labor, dealt at some length withthe Foreign Policy Association's statement about the recognition of the Soviet Government. He shows how the fight has been waged to break down anti-recognition determination by skillful propaganda moves. He speaks of pamphlets prepared by Vera A. Michels with the aid of the research staff of the Foreign Policy Association. Of these he says, "These pamphlets are not merely partisan in adopting the Soviet view on this question but by wholly repressing important sections of the United States documents quoted and by giving other sections out of their context have misrepresented our State Department policy to the point of presenting it as being the very reverse of what it actually is", and then he touches on Senator Borah and his misrepresentations to the same effect. He quotes from the second Foreign Policy Association pamphlet:

> "It may seem, from the foregoing analysis, that the government of the United States at the present time bases its objections to the recognition of the soviet government on three grounds: (1) the soviet government's connection with the Communist International, and its alleged participation in the propaganda conducted by the latter organization; (2) the soviet government's failure to repay or acknowledge the debts of preceding governments; and (3) its failure to restore the confiscated property of American citizens."

On this Mr. Woll correctly comments:

> "This amazing misstatement is based mainly on misleading and abbreviated quotations and distortions of declarations of Secretray Hughes. Mr. Hughes' position was that, the soviets' promises being worthless, negotiations for recognition could not be opened until they actually had complied with at least two preliminary conditions.

> He did not say these were the sole preliminary conditions to the opening of negotiations, nor did he imply that negotiations would necessarily mean recognition or that further conditions would not be then required."

and he then quotes correctly what these pamphlets have deliberately misrepresented and whows waht the Foreign Policy Association pamphlet left out that our refusal to recognize Russia was based on the "insidious propaganda and the promotion of strife to destroy or embarrass existing governments throughout the world" and the faithlessness of the Soviet Government, or as Secretary Colby put it:-

> "that the existing regime in Russia is based on the NEGATION of every principle of honor and good faith, and every usuage and convention, underlying the whole structure of international law; the negation, in short, of every principle upon which it is possible to base harmonious and trustful relations, whether of nations or of individuals."

After exposing more things of the same kind Well adds:

> "Here is an accurate picture of the Soviet regime as opposed to that of America and other nations. How contradictory is this accurate summary of Messrs. Hughes and Hoover to the distorted pro-Soviet generalization of the Foreign Policy Association."

In Mr. Easley's exposure before referred to he deliberately questions the good faith of the Foreign Policy Association's forum meetings and he has much ground for doing so.

At a luncheon meeting in Philadelphia the subject was "Communist Propaganda in the United States," Mr. J. N. Pavloff of the Amtorg Trading Company, Inc., which is a branch of the Communist Government, took the pro-Communist side while Sir Bernard Pares, a foreigner who knew nothing in particular about Communist propaganda in the United States, was put forward to speak on the other side. This is typical of Foreign Policy Association procedure - the well informed, oily Communist propagandist, clever, shifty and ready to make any statement that serves his purpose, and in opposition a man whose experience did not fit him to speak about the subject at all.

Mr. Easley refers to Mr. McDonald's false statement that the Russian Government could not control the Third International and alludes to the Foreign Policy Association's published statements that the executive committee of the Third International, the Soviet Government and the Communist Party are practically identical, Stalin, Bukharin, Tchitcherin, Rykoff, etc., being on all three.

Easley then quotes McDonald as stating, about Communist propaganda in this country, that he never felt he knew enough about the alleged bolshevik activities here to warrant the expression of positive opinion. Either Mr. McDonald did not know what was more than common knowledge - what was notorious - and thoroughly proven, or he was, to put it mildly, equivocating, and Easley alludes to McDonald's quoting some stale propaganda stuff of Karl Radek. Easley then says to McDonald that in his (Easley's) letter to Tom Lamont:

> "I enumerated definitely the number of things the Communists are doing in this country and I suggested that he discuss the matter with Mr. Green and Mr. Woll who would have no trouble in convincing him of the damnable activities being carried on in the United States by the Soviet Government of Moscow in its attempt to destroy our institutions and overthrow our Government. I never had any reply from you regarding the suggestion and for that matter Mr. Lamont did not answer it either. Whether or not there is any significance in the fact that Mrs. Thomas Lamont is a member of the executive committee of the Foreign Policy Association, or whether it is merely a coincidence, I do not know".

and then he goes on to state that he sent to Messrs. Lamont and McDonald copies of the communist official organ, the Daily Worker, in which there is a thousand-word telegram to the Workers Party of America from Zinoviev, head of the Third International, in which Zinoviev speaks of the paper being the center of many battles which will secure victory for the Communist revolution in the United States, and he mentions other things of the sort, showing the Communist propaganda in the United States for the overthrow of the United States Government, that it is quite incredible that Mr. McDonald should not have known of. Easley then refers to the good faith of the Foreign Policy Association being involved and states that when the Foreign Policy Association was organized it was openly known as a radical body which sponsored notorious pacifist organizations such as Frederick J. Libby's National Council for Prevention of War, and said of the Foreign Policy Association that its programs were always manipulated to the benefit of the pacifists, pinks or reds and states that its treatment of Soviet propaganda indicates that there has been no change for the better. He points out that the trick which the Socialists and Communists always work with great success is to have their side represented by experts while the other viewpoint will be given by lawyers, preachers, professors or business men who know little about the subject, and he implies that that is what the Foreign Policy Association is doing. He then speaks of its branches in all cities and their potentiality for harm. He then asks McDonald:

> "If you can display such ignorance in the matter of the red propaganda in a country where you have lived for years, how reliable would you be likely to be in telling what

is happening in Europe and Asia where you spent only a few months on a tour last summer".

and he speaks of sources of information such as the International Entente Against the Third International, which McDonald has neglected, and mentions some of the pro-recognitionists whom McDonald has cultivated. He then quotes Matthew Woll's letter to President Coolidge in which Woll asks how a civilized nation like ours can want any association with a government whose officials would boldly make an announcement, published in Pravda, official organ of the Communist Party, of September 9, 1928, under the heading "The Revolutionary Compass." This article, Pravda states:

> "The world-wide nature of our programme is not mere talk but an all-embracing and blood-soaked reality. It cannot be otherwise.....Our ultimate aim is World Communism, our fighting preparations are for World Revolution, for the conquest of power on a world-widescale and the establishment of a World Proletarian Dictatorship.
> Therefore, the Program of the Communist International is obligatoryon all its sections.
>
> "Our program openly throws down the deadly challenge to the bourgeois world."

and Easley adds that the Amtorg Trading Corporation is one of the promoters of this program in this country.

The great mass of evidence as to the Communist propaganda nature of the Foreign Policy Association forbids even an attempt to quote it.

At one of its luncheon meetings Anna Louise Strong was the Communist propaganda speaker, but she was not introduced as such. Miss Strong is a very bright woman. She is a graduate of Bryn Mawr College where possibly she learned the beginnings of her red propaganda. She is an intimate friend of Jane Addams and an old Hull Houser, where very possibly she could have absorbed more of the same propaganda for Jane Addams was in more red, pink and yellow organizations than the very great majority of those classed as reds, pinks and yellows in this country. Jane Addams was a friend of Borodin when in Chicago and Anna Louise Strong boasted that she carried messages for Borodin from Russia to Communist leaders in the Nationalist Party of China when the Communists were trying to capture that party. Miss Strong was exposed by Ole Hansen in his book "Americanism versus Bolshevism" as one of those who were trying to bring about a red revolution in Seattle, and he speaks of her as a flaming red revolutionist. She is now a Communist journalist in Moscow. Her brother is a plant in the Young Men's Christian Association. Her father, a radical clergyman, is often spoken of as the Red Reverend of Puget Sound.

Marguerite Harrison was exposed in the London papers as a Communist spy. Then she was exposed in the Philadelphia Ledger

is happening in Europe and Asia where you spent only a few months on a tour last summer".

and he speaks of sources of information such as the International Entente Against the Third International, which McDonald has neglected, and mentions some of the pro-recognitionists whom McDonald has cultivated. He then quotes Matthew Woll's letter to President Coolidge in which Woll asks how a civilized nation like ours can want any association with a government whose officials would boldly make an announcement, published in Pravda, official organ of the Communist Party, of September 9, 1928, under the heading "The Revolutionary Compass." This article, Pravda states:

> "The world-wide nature of our programme is not mere talk but an all-embracing and blood-soaked reality. It cannot be otherwise.....Our ultimate aim is World Communism, our fighting preparations are for World Revolution, for the conquest of power on a world-widescale and the establishment of a World Proletarian Dictatorship.
> Therefore, the Program of the Communist International is obligatoryon all its sections.
>
> "Our program openly throws down the deadly challenge to the bourgeois world."

and Beasley adds that the Amtorg Trading Corporation is one of the promoters of this program in this country.

The great mass of evidence as to the Communist propaganda nature of the Foreign Policy Association forbids even an attempt to quote it.

At one of its luncheon meetings Anna Louise Strong was the Communist propaganda speaker, but she was not introduced as such. Miss Strong is a very bright woman. She is a graduate of Bryn Mawr College where possibly she learned the beginnings of her red propaganda. She is an intimate friend of Jane Addams and an old Hull House, where very possibly she could have absorbed more of the same propaganda for Jane Addams was in more red, pink and yellow organizations than the very great majority of those classed as reds, pinks and yellows in this country. Jane Addams was a friend of Borodin when in Chicago and Anna Louise Strong boasted that she carried messages for Borodin from Russia to Communist leaders in the Nationalist Party of China when the Communists were trying to capture that party. Miss Strong was exposed by Ole Hansen in his book "Americanism versus Bolshevism" as one of those who were trying to bring about a red revolution in Seattle, and he speaks of her as a flaming red revolutionist. She is now a Communist journalist in Moscow. Her brother is a plant in the Young Men's Christian Association. Her father, a radical clergyman, is often spoken of as the Red Reverend of Puget Sound.

Marguerite Harrison was exposed in the London papers as a Communist spy. Then she was exposed in the Philadelphia Ledger

as a Communist spy and then the Philadelphia branch of the Foreign Policy Association had her as a speaker at one of its luncheon meetings but gave no hint whatever that she was a Communist spy and propagandist. In his book "The Tcheka", George Popoff also brands Miss Harrison as a Communist spy.

Jacob Billikopf was another luncheon speaker at the Philadelphia Foreign Policy Association. He made such extraordinary statements as that nine-tenths of the people in Russia were better off than they were before the bolshevik revolution and that educational Russia is infinitely better off and that housing conditions were incomparably better. It is notorious that education in Russia is all for communism and to make the so-called educated people Communists and not to give them a broader and better knowledge about affairs in general. Mr. Billikopf's misstatements so taxed the patience of the Russian present, Pitirin Sorokin, that he jumped up and excitedly shouted "it is not true."

Another of the Foreign Policy Association speakers, Gaetano Salvemini's connections in the past were of such a nature that he was suspected of the first bombing of the house of Chevalier John M. DiSilvestro which occured while he was here.

Arthur Garfield Hays of the American Civil Liberties Union National Committee and of the communist All-AmericanAnti-Imperialist League, which is a purely Communist affair, was another of these speakers. Hays is reported as publicly stating that he considered himself extremely patriotic when he said that he hoped that Sandino would lick hell out of the United States Marines.

Another of these luncheon speakers was Norman Hapgood. Norman Hapgood was the man who held anf ad intorim appointment as Minister to Denmark which was not confirmed by the Senate because Senator Lodge had information about Hapgood's acting as a go-between the Communists in this country and the Communists and anarchists in Moscow. As has been stated he was on the American Civil Liberties Union National Committee and his book was published as Communist propaganda by the Daily Worker.

Professor Paul H. Douglas was another of the lecturers for the St. Paul branch of the Foreign Policy Association. He is one of the American Civil Liberties Union crowd and a strong advocate of the recognition of the Soviet Government. He was a member of the so-called American Trade Union Delegation to Moscow. Its pretense to be a trade union delegation was an utterly false one and it was repudiated by trade unionism, but the crowd were sailing under false colors in order to give their pro-Communist propaganda a better standing on their return.

In one of its bulletins the Foreign Policy Association says, "Grover Clark, editor of the Pekin Leader, has cooperated with us in the publication of reports on China." Grover Clark is the editor who proved to be a Communist spy subsidized by the Communist Government in a raid made on the headquarters of his paper by the Chinese Government.

Robert W. Dunn has succeeded William Z. Foster on the American Civil Liberties Union National Committee as the Communists' chief reliance, and we find him as a speaker at the Foreign Policy Association Cincinnati meeting.

Raymond L. Buell, research director of the Foreign Policy Association, was publicly rebuked by the Assistant Secretary of State for false statements about Liberia which were in keeping with the propaganda put over by some of the Communist and American Civil Liberties Union crowd.

Parker T. Moon of the American Civil Liberties Union crowd was a speaker at a luncheon meeting in Philadelphia at which the Communist spy, Marguerite E. Harrison, spoke. He is on the committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America and one of his books was condemned as anti-patriotic. He was a lecturer at the red and disloyal Rand School. He was vice president of the communist Students' International Union.

In the Lusk Report on Revolutionary Radicalism we find extracts from the radical "Liberator" which in true American Civil Liberties Union fashion represented the deportation of the anarchist would-be-murderer Alexander Berkman and the anarchist Emma Goldman as "a denial of the constitutional right of free speech." Among the list of stockholders of this radical anti-patriotic paper we find Mrs. Francis B. Biddle, wife of the chairman of the Philadelphia branch of the Foreign Policy Association. The editor of the Liberator at the time was Max Eastman and among the Foreign Policy Association speakers we find Max Eastman. He was also contributing editor of the "New Masses" which was generally classed as a Communist paper. He was one of the supporters of the Soviet Government of Russia. He was on the Department of Justice list of radicals operating in the United States, before mentioned. He approved the campaign of the Communists against religion. He was one of the signers of the Communist John Reed Club's protestagainst the police of New York enforcing the laws and regulations against Communists. He was one of the organizers of the notorious People's Council. He was formerly on the executive committee of the Civil Liberties Bureau, an unpatriotic pacifist affair merged into the American Civil Liberties Union.

A member of the Philadelphia br ch of the Foreign Policy Association parades the letterhead of that branch as a clean bill of health for the Foreign Policy Association, criticized in a speech by Judge McDevitt. Undoubtedly there are a number of business men in this branch who would not be there if they realized that this affair aids communism, but it happens that this letterhead affords cumulative evidence of the American Civil Liberties Union connection.

The chairman is Francis Biddle, before mentioned, who is also on the national council of the parent organization. When the Communists got up the Sacco and Vanzetti agitation he was one of the crowd signing appeals for Sacco and Vanzetti and thus helping this along. His verse has been published in the "Forum", "Liberator", etc., showing continued contact with those papers.

The treasurer is Alfred G. Scattergood, who in the past has been a contributor to American Civil Liberties Union funds.

The chairman of the membership committee is Walter Biddle Saul, who has recently represented the American Civil Liberties Union in defending guilty Communists who were seeking to overthrow our government by force and violence, cause mutiny in the army, etc.

Its executive secretary is Mrs. Margaret F. Sloss. She was on the Committee of the League for Industrial Democracy giving a dinner to Norman Thomas, of the American Civil Liberties Union National Committee, and is, I believe, also a member of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

On the executive committee we find, beside Mr. Biddle, Miss Gertrude Ely, who is a director of the American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union, a Communist propaganda affair. She gave a lecture on "Seeing Russia with Shaw" and Colonel and Mrs. H. Harrison Smith objected to the use of their names in this connection without their permission. There was more or less foolish Soviet propaganda in the lecture.

Then there is Edward W. Evans, a former member of the American Civil Liberties Union National Committee.

Then there is Professor Charles G. Fenwick of Bryn Mawr, who is on the national committee of the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America gotten up by the American Civil Liberties Union crowd.

Then comes Rev. Frederick R. Griffin, who is on the executive committee of the Amerucan Civil Liberties Union Philadelphia branch and presided at a meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union crowd's Peoples Lobby in Philadelphia and who was one of the crowd encouraging the communist Sacco and Vanzetti agitation by signing an appeal for those murderers, as did also Dr. Richard M. Gummere, another of the Foreign Policy Association executive committee.

Then comes Dr. Ernest Minor Patterson, who is director of the American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia, toastmaster at the League for Industrial Democracy dinner in honor of Norman Thomas, signer of the National Popular Government League's misleading out-givings, etc.

Then there is William Rosenwald, of the American Civil Liberties Union Philadelphia branch committee and also on the Pennsylvania State Committee.

Then there is William Stix Wasserman, treasurer of the Philadelphia branch of the American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia who is a protagonist of Russian recognition.

Among the list of sponsors is Allen S. Olmsted, 2nd, who represented the American Civil Liberties Union at a meeting of the

Committee on Immigration of the House of Representatives and advocated that foreigners should be permitted to enter this country and preach communism and anarchy all they wanted to without molestation. He was formerly chairman of the Young Democracy, which put over the most virulent type of Communist speakers. At a meeting in Reading he was quoted as stating, "If Russia has been so successful why do we not try communism in this country."

Other sponsors are Frank Aydelotte, who helped the Communist game by signing a Sacco and Vanzetti appeal and was on the national committee of the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America; Charles E. Beury of Temple University who praised Norman Thomas, of the American Civil Liberties Union National Committee, and sponsored him as a speaker for the students; President W. W. Comfort of Haverford College who was one of the crowd siging a Sacco and Vanzetti appeal; Michael Francis Doyle of the American Civil Liberties Union Philadelphia branch and on its State Committee; Rabbi William H. Fineshriber, who is on the American Civil Liberties Union Philadelphia branch executive committee and on its Pennsylvania Committee, signed an appeal for Sacco and Vanzetti, was on the League for Industrial Democracy Committee dinner to Norman Thomas, was on the Memorial Hospital Fund National Committee gotten up as a memorial to the Communist Paxton Hibben, was vice president of the Pennsylvania Committee for Total Disarmament gotten up by the American Civil Liberties Union crowd and its virtually feminine branch, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and who talked about a revolution and bloodshed in case people did not do as he preferred to think they should; Rev. Henry T. Hodgkin, one of the founders of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Morris E. Leeds of the general advisory council of the American Association for Labor Legislation, and American Civil Liberties Union crowd affair; Marion Edwards Park, president of Bryn Mawr College who was one of the Sacco and Vanzetti agitators and who states that Bryn Mawr College students are preachers of internationalism and who is on the Committee on Militarism in Education gotten up and consisting of members of the American Civil Liberties Union crowd; J. Henry Scattergood, who was also Sacco and Vanzetti appealer, member of the Peoples Lobby, national council of the Committee on Militarism in Education and on the Philadelphia committee of the American Civil Liberties Union; S. Burns Weston, a Sacco and Vanzetti appealer and on the American Civil Liberties Union Philadelphia Committee and the advisory committee of the Consumers League of Eastern Pennsylvania; and Dr. Lucy L. W. Wilson, who constantly puts over Communist propaganda, and whose speech was praised by the Daily Worker as Communist propaganda, who put out a communistic propaganda article praising the Young Pioneers when they were beginning to bore from within in our schools here but left out all the adverse side, whowas one of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom education committee proposing to put over Olmsted and David Wallerstein, of the American Civil Liberties Union National Committee, as speakers. She was a speaker at a Communist propaganda meeting under the auspices of the American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union. Her propaganda misstatements about Soviet Russia were well exposed by Leslie Stratton. Her books are published by the Vanguard Press, gotten up to publish Communist literature. The Communists

state that Bertrand Russell is a Communist propagandist and she was on the committee for a Bertrand Russell meeting. "The Young Pioneer", organ of the Communist Young Pioneers, praised her pro-Soviet attitude.

Of course there are some respectable fronts in the Foreign Policy Association. Of course they do not realize what it is, and equally, of course, it is the object of the Foreign Policy Association to have respectable fronts as part of their camouflage. There is no room for doubt that the Foreign Policy Association belongs in a class with the American Civil Liberties Union, the League for Industrial Democracy, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the People's Lobby, the National Popular Government League and others of the sort as some of the well camouflaged organizations of the American Civil Liberties Union crowd which help the Communist cause.

On March 18, 1933, the Foreign Policy Association had a meeting in Philadelphia. The Communists are stimulating the pacifists in every country but Russia and Ruth Bryan Owen, extreme pacifist, was one of the speakers. Other speakers were Raymond Leslie Buell, who was rebuked by Assistant Secretary of State Castle for false statements about Liberia made at an Institute of Politics meeting in August, 1928, and Oswald Garrison Villard, of the American Civil Liberties Union national committee. The Communists are very much opposed to Hitler, who has been routing Communists in Germany. The Communists are very much opposed to Japan, which is interferring with Soviet Russia's plans in the Far East. The Communists are guilty of much mendacity about Haiti, which they call an oppressed nation or colonial possession or various other things which are not true, but they make communist propaganda out of it and this subject has also been a pet one of the American Civil Liberties Union and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Mr. Villard seems to have found an insufficient supply of adjectives to apply to Hitler and he also was denounced by Buell. The Communists were trying to change the government of Russia. Villard, in denouncing Hitler, talked about the sacred and inalienable right of people to change their government as they see fit. The "see fit" was all right when it was the case of the minority Communists but not when it was a majority of anti-Communists. Buell compared the occupation of Jehol by the Japanese to the United States maintaining an armed force in Haiti. When one thinks along the lines of Communist thought, the results are sometimes strange.

Mr. Villard talked about recognition of Russia as one of the things necessary to our salvation, and then went on to talk about Hitler's anti-Communist "abominable new government throttling liberty and committing horrible atrocities." Mr. Villard has no sense of humor, apparently. Hitler's government can be readily and truthfully denounced, but pretty much everything that can be said of that can be said with ten times the strength and propriety of the Soviet government of Russia, which he wishes us to recognize, and a good deal more in addition.

Yes, the Foreign Policy Association ran true to form as a Communistic protagonist of the recognition of the Soviet government

without much regard to facts or truth.

And then according to the Philadelphia "Ledger" of March, 20, 1933, the Foreign Policy Association has broken out in Washington in a publication written by Vera M. Dean on the recognition of Russia. She tells us that "many competent observers" say that the Soviet government is not as anxious for recognition by the United States today and that the longer we delay recognition the more difficulty there will be for the United States in obtaining concessions, which is more pro-recognition twaddle and this just at the time when the Soviet government is arresting British engineers on flimsy pretexts as an excuse to the rank and file of the Russian people for the bad planning and management of the Soviet government itself in relation to their new water power project.

Sneaking pro-Soviet recognition policy is that of the Foreign Policy Association, but at times there are a few respectable dupes in it.

(More Later:)

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

Named in "Congressional Exposure of Radicals" as one of the organizations interlocked by membership with the American Civil Liberties Union "that play into the hands of the Communists"; it organized the National Council for Prevention of War; changed its own name from League of Free Nations, 1921; claims 11,000 members, and stated in 1932: "Last year 41,000 men and women met at 108 meetings in 19 cities"; in order to "educate public opinion" conducts long series of radio addresses, Institutes, study groups, discussion meetings, luncheons, lectures; issues pamphlets, maintains a "research staff." In its 1932 pamphlet series such authors are listed as Morris Hillquit, Paul Douglas, John A. Ryan, Harry Giddonse, George M. Blakeslee (American Friends Peace Institute faculty member at Evanston), Max Eastman, Maurice Hindus, George Soule, John Dewey, William E. Borah.

In an able and lengthy paper Matthew Woll, Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, in April 1929, referred to the Foreign Policy statements favoring recognition of Russia, and its pamphlets prepared by Vera A. Michales (Dean) of the Foreign Policy research staff, saying in part: "These pamphlets are not merely partisan in adopting the Soviet view on this question but by wholly repressing important sections of the U. S. documents quoted and by giving other sections out of their context, have misrepresented our State Department policy to the point of presenting it as being the very reverse of what it actually is."

James G. McDonald, who has been the Foreign Policy Chairman since 1919, and who gives radio addresses for the Association about foreign affairs, in a speech before the Philadelphia branch stated that Soviet Russia wished to

maintain peace. "But intentions are hampered frequently by the activities of the Russian Communist Party and the Third International, neither of which the government has power to control." To this false statement, long used by the Communists when trying to side-step retaliation for their own activities, patriotic Ralph Easely retorted by showing that the executive committees of the Third International, the Soviet Government and the Communist Party of Russia are practically identical, Stalin, Bukharin, Tchitcherin, Rykoff, for example, being on all three, also by quoting Pravda's official statements concerning their plans for world revolution. He commented on McDonald's statement that he had never felt he knew enough about alleged Bolshevik activities in America to warrant the expression of a positive opinion, by saying: "If you can display such ignorance in the matter of Red propaganda in a country there you have lived for years, how reliable would you be likely to be in telling what is happening in Europe and Asia where you spent only a few months on a tour last summer?"

Francis Dalston Welch says: "Of course there are some respectable fronts in the Foreign Policy Association; of course they do not realize what it is, and equally of course it is the object of the Foreign Policy Association to have respectable fronts as part of their camouflage. There is no room for doubt that it belongs in the class with the American Civil Liberties Union, the League for Industrial Democracy, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the International League for Peace and Freedom, the Peoples Lobby, the National Popular Government League and others of the sort as some of the well camouflaged organizations of the American Civil Liberties Union crowd which help the Communist cause."

Among those on the National Council of the Foreign Policy Association are: Robert W. Bingham, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Stephen P. Duggan, Stanley C. Hudson, Capitalist Thomas W. Lamont, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Roscoe Pound, Felix M. Warburg, William Allen White and Owen D. Young. Among the Directors are: Bruce Bliven of the "New Republic", Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach, Paul U. Kellogg, Mrs. Dwight W. Morrow, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Dr. Florence M. Sabin, Walter N. Pollak and Herbert L. May.

Branches are in Albany, N. Y., Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Columbus, Elmira, N. Y., Hartford, Conn., Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Providence, St. Paul, Springfield, Mass., Toledo, Utica, N. Y., and Worcester, Mass. National Headquarters are located at: 8 West 40th Street, New York City.

5/1/37

COPY

Foreign Policy 65

THE NEW YORK TIMES
May 14, 1937

BUELL WARNS U.S.
ON EUROPEAN LINK

Tells Jersey Women Pacts We Have Made
Give Britain and France Advantage

Special to The New York Times.

ATLANTIC CITY, May 13.-- Raymond Leslie Buell of New York, president of the Foreign Policy Association, told the New Jersey Federation of Women's Clubs in Haddon Hall, here, today that this nation is drifting into an alliance with France and Great Britain from which it will reap little benefit.

About 1,000 members are attending the forty-third annual convention of the federation which closes tomorrow. The junior clubs, however, will continue their meetings through Saturday.

In a series of resolutions the women went on record today in opposition to President Roosevelt's proposal for Supreme Court reform, committed the federation to study the cause and cure of war, urged the New Jersey Legislature to refinance education to equalize opportunities for New Jersey school children, and promised to support the campaign for public information against venereal diseases.

The delegates also committed their 381 clubs and 40,000 members to universal membership in the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Group.

Mr. Buell, in his address, warned that "this country cannot long continue its moral support of the European democracies unless assured that they are working on behalf of world construction."

"Today," he said, "we are in affect morally supporting the status quo in Europe, without participating in the decisions by Britain and France which may determine the peace of the world.

"The tripartite monetary agreement of last September, the American naval program and the cash and carry neutrality policy all work to the advantage of Britain and France."

Prizes for art work were awarded by the federation to the Ridgewood Woman's Club, Upper Montclair Women's Club, Bloomfield Women's Club, Asbury Park Woman's Club and Little Falls Woman's Club. Prizes for arrangements of flowers and shrubs went to the Haddon Fortnightly Club of Haddonfield and the garden sections of the Collingswood and Wenonah Women's Clubs and to Mrs. F.V. Cyphers of the Contemporary Club of Newark, and Mrs. William Phillips and Mrs. T.H.Wood, both of the Collingswood Woman's Club.

(40)

Foreign Policy Association
8 East 40th Street
New York, New York

For immediate release

ABSTRACT OF ADDRESS BEFORE NEW JERSEY FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS, ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, MAY 13, 1937
by
RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL, PRESIDENT, FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

America is drifting into a tacit alliance with Britain and France. So far it has received very little in return. Today we are in effect morally supporting the status quo in Europe without participation in the decisions made by Britain and France which may determine the peace of the world.

The tripartite monetary agreement of September 1936, the American naval program, and the cash-and-carry neutrality policy all work to the advantage of Britain and France. We have agreed virtually to abandon freedom of the seas and to keep open our markets in war time to France and Britain. Unlike Germany and Italy, those powers dominate the gold resources of the world and already have about four billion dollars worth of gold and securities in the United States. Consequently they will be able to carry on as large a war trade with us during the next war as they did between 1914 and 1917.

Undoubtedly the sympathies of the American people are overwhelmingly with Britain and France against the Fascist dictatorships. Nevertheless, there are obvious dangers in the type of alliance which we are forming with Britain and France. It is unwise to assume any indirect responsibilities on their behalf unless we are sure that the foreign policies of the leading democracies are really working in favor of world reconstruction, instead of limited national interests. Undoubtedly the British rearmament program is serving to postpone the outbreak of a European war. But as yet there are no signs that Britain is willing

to revise

its commercial policy on behalf of world economic reconstruction. Britain still maintains exclusive trade treaties which oblige smaller countries to impose import quotas to the advantage of British traders and to the injury of third states. It still clings to an exaggerated form of imperial preferences. The Earl of Plymouth, speaking on behalf of the government in the House of Lords on March 17, openly opposed the establishment of the open door in the British colonies. Britain has so far turned a deaf ear to repeated pleas from the United States in favor of an Anglo-American trade agreement. Unless British commercial policy changes, the Hull trade program seems doomed to failure. On the contrary, should Britain, America and France adopt a common economic and financial policy, world economic reconstruction, upon which the maintenance of peace depends, would become a reality, even though the German and Italian dictatorships continue a policy of self-sufficiency.

This week the Imperial Conference opens in London. At this time the British Commonwealth will have one more - and perhaps the final - opportunity to decide whether to move toward the views of the United States with regard to world economic policy. The American public will watch keenly the deliberations of this conference. If they lead to the revision of the Ottawa agreements in favor of a more liberal international policy, if they lead to the conclusion of a most-favored-nation agreement with the United States, the American government will be deeply gratified. If the Imperial Conference, however, rejects the Hull ideas in favor of a continuance of the present course, then it will be imperative for the United States to revise fundamentally its present foreign policy. This country cannot long continue its moral support of the European democracies unless it is assured that they are working on behalf of world reconstruction rather than narrowly considered .

Fascism--clipping, "[illegible] Idealisms Wedded to Fascism"

J. G. McDONALD BOOSTS SOVIETS

J. G. McDonald, chairman of the Foreign Policy Association, speaking in Chautauqua, New York, assailed America for "attempting to use the Russian method of repression to keep communistic ideas out of this nation."

He urged that capitalists adopt Soviet ideals for community welfare above individualism and the immediate family. He predicted that Russia would drive America from the field of foreign wheat, coal and iron products, but said that she had little to fear from industrial competition.

Pa. M[illegible] Forecast July '3[illegible]

[illegible] Luncheon Here, Says Democracy Is Imperiled.

DR. NATHAN IS OPTIMISTIC

Economist Discounts Fascist Gains —Dr. A. E. Zimmern Pleads for World Accord.

Whether the present form of democratic government in Germany will survive will depend ultimately upon the policy of the United States on war reparation payments, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, editor of The World Tomorrow, declared yesterday at the luncheon of the Foreign Policy Association at the Hotel Astor.

Differing views of recent German developments and difficulties, ranging from dark pessimism to hopeful optimism, were expressed by Dr. Niebuhr, Dr. Otto Nathan, a German economist of prominence, and Dr. Alfred E. Zimmern, professor of international relations at Oxford University.

Dr. Niebuhr held that, if the economic depression continues and no "new deal" is made in the reparations question, "it is almost certain that parliamentary government in Germany will not survive."

He said he did not see how that government, or even the peace of Europe, can be maintained, unless the United States is willing to permit a reparations adjustment which will ease the burden now borne by the German worker. In the last analysis, he said, the future of democracy is at stake.

The speaker's fears of future social unrest were not shared by Dr. Nathan, who asserted that the recent victory of the Hitlerites, which was interpreted as a challenge to the parliamentary system, had been overestimated. He cited figures to show that the three [illegible]

[illegible]

Foreign Policy Association

Silver--clipping, "Asks World Parley to Stabilize Silver"

Foreign Policy Assn.

Haensel, Prof. Paul--news clipping, "Confession Offers Faint Chance"

Foreign Policy Assn.

Buell, Raymond L.--news. clipping, "Economic War"

EUROPE

WAR OR PEACE?

By

WALTER DURANTY

[illegible] weight and [illegible] interpretation have won him international [illegible] for the writing of this pamphlet [illegible] and varied experience as Moscow [illegible] of the *New York Times*.

EUROPE: WAR OR PEACE? he studies the [illegible] country by country, and presents [illegible] as sound and balanced as they [illegible] original.

WORLD AFFAIRS PAMPHLETS

EX-29

Spring 1940

NATIONAL BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Ralph E. Easton, Chairman — Mrs. Henry G. Leach, Vice-Chairman

Frank Altschul — Raymond Leslie Buell — Joseph P. Chamberlain — William A. Dewitt — Robert M. Field — Mrs. Leonard Wood Fox — Mrs. Bayard James — Paul U. Kellogg — Mrs. Thomas W. Lamont — W. W. Lawrence — Herbert L. May — Frank Ross McCoy — Jason G. McDonald — Mrs. Howell Moorhead — Parker G. Ogden — H. Harvey Pike, Jr. — Francis T. P. Plimpton — Dwight Wigmore — H. Alexander Smith — Maurice Wertheim

NATIONAL OFFICERS

Frank Ross McCoy, President — Dorothy F. Leet, Secretary — William T. Stone, Vice President — William A. Dewitt, Treasurer — Evelyn Maurer, Assistant Treasurer

WASHINGTON BUREAU

William T. Stone — John I. B. McCulloch — Delia Goetz

SPEAKERS BUREAU

Frances J. Frost

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

Vera Michelles Dean, Director

T. A. Bisson — A. Ludwig Kitz — Leon E. Pearlman — Leon Poullada Cross — Helen Howell Moorhead — David H. Popper — Guy F. D. Raymond, Librarian — John C. deWilde — Helen Terry, Assistant Editor

DEPARTMENT OF POPULAR EDUCATION

William T. Stone, Director

Laura Polson Chase — Lucille C. Fitzsimmons — Vivian Fry, Editor — Jane Lecht — S. A. McKeown — Elizabeth Ogg — Marguerite Ann Stewart — L. Jerome Wallace

BRANCH CHAIRMEN

Albany, N. Y.—Mrs. Eugene Corey — Blue Hartford, Conn.—Walter E. Schwinn — Baltimore, Md.—Mrs. Ben Lindsell — Minneapolis, Minn.—Arnold Leland — Boston, Mass.—Harvey H. Brady — Philadelphia, Pa.—George Isaac Francis — Buffalo, N. Y.—Mrs. Charles B. Sears — Pittsburgh, Pa.—T. W. Patterson, Jr. — Cincinnati, Ohio—Mrs. Howard Wilson — Providence, R. I.—Prof. Wm. A. Brown, Jr. — Columbus, Ohio—Prof. H. Schuyler Foster — St. Paul, Minn.—Hudson Lefferts — Detroit, Mich.—H. M. Bakes — Springfield, Mass.—Dr. James Gordon Gilkey — Ithaca, N. Y.—Dr. Adolph Poehler — Utica, N. Y.—Prof. Raymond B. Johnson — Worcester, Mass.—George B. Noble

tinued to ignore the fact that the League has been transformed into an instrument to maintain the letter of the Peace Treaties.

The past decade has witnessed a series of international agreements and conferences, mostly under the aegis of the League, each of which was greeted with paeans of enthusiasm: the Locarno treaties, the Anti-War Pact, the Disarmament Conference, and the London Economic Conference.

Behind the clouds of hope and optimism stand certain facts which cannot be ignored. They are as follows:

(1) The keynote of the Peace Treaties was the settlement of the old struggle between France and Germany for hegemony over the European Continent.

(2) This settlement was imposed by force and maintained by military power and a system of alliances.

(3) It was a settlement which Germany and its allies did not accept willingly, or regard as permanent.

(4) Hopes that the errors of the settlement might be corrected and its harshness mitigated by the League of Nations, disarmament conferences or international agreements have so far proved unfounded.

(5) Europe is engaged today in an armament race far surpassing that which preceded the World War.

At present Europe has assumed the aspect of an armed camp with two antagonists, which may be defined as the "haves" and the "have nots" or, if one prefers it, those who are satisfied with the Peace Treaties of 1919 and those who are not. The former clearly do not want war for the best of reasons, that they have nothing to gain by it and everything to lose. The latter are not yet ready for war; that is evident. But it is equally evident that they are making ready with the utmost speed, irrespective of treaties and protests, or indeed of the hardships which these preparations may entail for their own people.

The picture thus painted is black enough, but is there no chance that it represents not the shadow of coming storm but that darkest moment which precedes the dawn? Bismarck, who was a master of clinical analysis, declared that "imponderables," that is to say, circumstances of a nature not sufficiently material to be described as concrete facts, are often decisive in war itself. Such imponderables do exist in Europe. They are as follows:

The peoples of Europe as a whole, far from wanting war, are profoundly anxious for peace. True, in many countries there are desperate and reckless men, some of them unfortunately in positions of authority, but the memory of the years 1914 to 1918 is still sufficiently strong to act as a powerful deterrent. In the summer of 1914 war still might seem a glorious adventure to the peoples of Europe and their leaders. This is no longer true today. At best, war can only be justified by the instinct of self-preservation.

The belief, whether founded or not, that new methods of war would be so destructive as to involve victors and vanquished in common ruin, whose only result would be chaos and starvation, is universal. Not even the highly militarized and centralized organizations of Nazism, Fascism and Bolshevism can ignore this possibility.

It may, therefore, be argued somewhat paradoxically that the risks of war are so great as to restrain even the most reckless when it seems most imminent. Thus, although there have been three "bombshells" in the past six months—the Nazi executions of June 30, the murder of Dollfuss in July, and the assassination of M. Barthou and King Alexander in October—any one of which seemed enough to detonate the European powder magazine, no explosion followed.

Finally, in this respect, the year 1934, which superficially appeared so ominous a portent to the nations of Europe, may have rendered them an incalculable service by opening the eyes, not of European statesmen alone but of the whole world, to the precipice ahead. The two greatest powers in the Eastern Hemisphere, Great Britain and the U.S.S.R., have become aware of the nearness of catastrophe. Neither of them has any fundamental or direct part in Europe's quarrels; both of them, for motives of their own, have the strongest reasons to maintain peace and prevent a conflict into which they would almost certainly be drawn. It is of paramount significance that last summer for the first time these two great powers manifested their determination to support the *status quo* in Europe. In Britain there have been

II

NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

THE foregoing survey of relations between European states shows how deeply they are influenced by the growth of nationalism, which finds expression not merely in racial antagonisms but in finance, industry and commerce. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that an economic war is already in progress, which involves the neutrals as well as the belligerents of 1914-1918. More ominous and significant is the fact that nationalism is being fostered culturally by every means of education and propaganda, and that this culture is essentially militarist in character. The rapid and dangerous increase of armaments is being paralleled by the intensive military training of whole peoples, which begins with children of tender years. It is true that even the most outspoken apostles of nationalism have not yet dared to speak openly of military aggression, but some of them have referred to the future destiny of their countries in a way that can hardly be interpreted in terms of national defense.

This resurgence of nationalist sentiment has been accompanied by a corresponding decrease in the forces making for internationalism, which are two in number: communism and the League of Nations. Nothing could signify more definitely the rise of nationalism than the fact that the U.S.S.R. has, at least for the time being, muffled its appeal to the proletariat of the world to unite for an international Communist state, and has temporarily shelved the organization it had created for world revolution, called the Third International or *Comintern* (Communist International). At present the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R., to all intents and purposes, is being conducted along the same lines as that of any capitalist state. M. Litvinov at Geneva speaks as the representative of a great power which has decided to do its utmost to prevent any breach of Europe's peace. For this purpose he is ready to engage in diplomatic pacts or combinations with one or more foreign states, and there is no hint in his conversations that an agreement the Soviet Union might reach with France and the states of Eastern Europe—the Eastern Locarno pact—is restricted

in any way to the "workers and peasants" of the signatories. Unless one knew beforehand that the *Comintern* existed, there would be nothing in Litvinov's statements or actions to indicate its connection with the U.S.S.R.

It is possible, moreover, that Bolshevik views have been somewhat modified, that they have come to understand that the best propaganda is not proselytizing abroad but building up an example of a successful proletarian state within their own borders on the supposition that if and when the U.S.S.R. can offer a saner, broader, happier, healthier life for the mass of its population than the capitalist states in which the means of production are still owned and controlled by a small minority, its example will soon or later be followed by the rest of the world.

It may seem surprising that the Bolsheviks, who believe in world revolution as an ultimate certainty, and desire it, and to whom it is a point of dogma that revolutions are caused by wars, should so vigorously try to prevent a war which might bring about revolution. There is a cynical explanation that their attempts to avoid war are not sincere, that the U.S.S.R. only wishes to postpone it until such time as its own resources and organizations are developed for the task of "picking up the pieces"—of organizing the shattered remnants of European society into a new Soviet federation under the aegis of the Kremlin. This is not true. The rulers of Russia are opposed to war for the same reason as the rulers of Great Britain, because they know that their country would find it impossible to avoid participation should war break out anywhere, and that new methods of warfare might be so destructive as greatly to delay and hamper, or even wholly ruin, the national reconstruction which they are carrying out with fanatical energy. Even in the U.S.S.R. the spirit of nationalism, however disguised under such phrases as "Socialist Fatherland" or "homeland of all the workers," is nevertheless a factor of importance. This shift in policy offers a striking contrast to the emphasis previously placed by the Soviet leaders on the establishment of a world state through revolution of the working class. For the time being the

Soviet Union has lent its support to the League collective system, which so far has worked, not for revolution, but for maintainance of the *status quo*.

The more benign and idealistic type of internationalism represented by the League of Nations has been a conspicuous failure until quite recently. Of Geneva it might be said, unkindly but truthfully, that it was paved with good intentions. The League procedure was so cumbrous, so overloaded with rules for unanimity, so "democratic" in permitting the representatives of a small state to block, if they saw fit, the action of great powers, that it was not difficult for the League to be perverted into an instrument to maintain the letter of the Peace Treaties instead of modifying them in the interests of justice as its founders had intended. In a world ruled by force the League lacked means to exercise the moral authority it might have possessed. Its defiance by Japan proved this beyond all doubt, and when Germany followed Japan out of the League and deliberately undertook the rearmament which the League had refused to sanction, it seemed that the League internationalism had been defeated even more severely than that of Marxism.

The League was saved by an unexpected phenomenon. The U.S.S.R. dropped its own brand of internationalism and rallied to the standard of the League, with the cordial support and encouragement of France and the more than tacit approval of Britain and Italy. This reinforcement has revived a body that seemed nearly moribund. It was as though Europe's conscience suddenly awakened at the eleventh hour to the nearness and gravity of its danger. Perhaps the League itself deserves credit for this change because, despite its comparative impotence, it has performed a valuable service in ventilating the vexed questions that threaten European peace and in arousing public opinion everywhere to the causes and possible effects that are involved. At all events, a great revival of League prestige has taken place, particularly as a result of the manner in which the Council has handled the Saar question and the Yugoslav-Hungarian dispute, either of which contained enough dynamite to blow half of Europe to pieces. In both cases the favorable response of public

opinion everywhere cannot fail to impress European statesmen. There are other and no less difficult questions pending—for instance Germany's "right" to rearmament—but the League has nevertheless created a valuable precedent by its success in obtaining the use of neutral troops to safeguard order in a critical instance of rivalry between two nations.

WAR AS A MEANS OF SETTLEMENT

It is one of the paradoxes of the present situation in Europe that, although the danger of war is universally recognized, there is a growing opinion that war is not a satisfactory or even permanent settlement of disputes among nations. In ancient times wars were usually decisive. The victor seized the land and possessions of the vanquished, killed off the able-bodied male population, and enslaved the rest. The conquered were submerged and absorbed, with little hope or possibility of revenge. As civilization advanced, the possibility that war would end rivalry between two nations by eliminating the vanquished grew more remote, and in recent times there has been a series of oscillations between France and Germany, in which now one side now the other had the upper hand. Success in each conflict was often determined by combinations and alliances with other countries, which sometimes desired that neither of the two principal antagonists should obtain too great a preponderance and therefore tended to oppose the seizure of too much territory. The spread of humanitarian ideas caused a further swing in the same direction. Thus, after the Franco-German War of 1870-1871, Germany found itself unable to seize new territory which had come to be regarded as definitely French, and was forced to limit its spoil to the "recovery" of Alsace-Lorraine, to which it had an ancient claim. Similarly, in 1919 the French recovered these lost provinces, but their most strenuous efforts failed to secure the Rhine as a frontier because that would have involved the transfer of territory considered German by the rest of the world. It might almost be said, therefore, that the world has reached the point of preventing war from being effective but not yet of preventing war. If the weakened side can possess its soul in patience, it

FOREIGN POLICY REPORTS

November 1, 1942

How U.S. Is Financing the War

BY ALFRED G. BUEHLER

INDEXED
NILO
61-7802-7
7-NOT RECORDED
DE-INDEXED EX097
DATE: 9/23/59
9

PUBLISHED TWICE A MONTH BY THE

Foreign Policy Association, Incorporated

MIDSTON HOUSE, 22 EAST 38th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

VOLUME XVIII NUMBER 16 25¢ *a copy* $5.00 *a year*

NOV 18 1942

DEC 14 5 22 AM '42
RECEIVED SECURITY DIV.

How U.S. Is Financing the War

BY ALFRED G. BUEHLER, Professor of Public Finance at the University of Pennsylvania

THE unprecedented scope of World War II, which presses total populations into war service in one manner or another, is reflected not only in the battles of production and transportation and in hand-to-hand fighting with the enemy, but also in the battle of finances.

The scope of the battle of finances was revealed to the American people in October 1942, when Congress enacted a new revenue law to provide some $25 billion in 1943, which will soon be followed by another tax law to yield possibly $6 billion or more. If the national income in 1943 is $120 billion, and state and local taxes are about $8.6 billion, we shall then be paying out approximately one-third of our national income in taxes, excluding the social security charges. This may be compared with a ratio of about 20 per cent in the late 1930's and about 12 per cent at the close of World War I.

Never before have we collected such huge totals in taxes and never before have we been taxed at such steep rates. Now individuals will be subject to the new 5 per cent Victory tax on gross incomes over $624 yearly, with credits for war bond purchases, debt payments and life insurance premiums, in addition to the income tax, with its rates ranging from 19 to 88 per cent. Exemptions are $500 for single persons and $1,200 for married couples and the credit for dependents will be $350. Corporation profits will be taxed up to 40 per cent and a flat 90 per cent excess profits tax will be imposed, with an exemption of $5,000 and a credit of 10 per cent as a post-war refund and a current debt reduction allowance. Total corporation taxes are to be limited to 80 per cent of the profits.

Excises are also increased on cigarettes, alcoholic beverages, and other commodities. The exemption of the estate tax is reduced to $60,000 and the life insurance limitation is abolished. All in all, this is a tremendous tax increase, but it is still inadequate to curb inflation and to greatly reduce the huge inflationary gap which the excess of purchasing power over consumable goods and services will create. More taxes are therefore not far distant. We must turn to a spendings, sales, or gross income tax in 1943 if we want substantial new taxes.

The Axis powers have prepared long and carefully for total war, and have been ready to advance their aims of world conquest at any cost, not only in terms of their own sacrifices, but also in terms of the enslavement and exploitation of conquered peoples.[1] Against such opponents we must be prepared to risk both our fortunes and our lives. We must be ready to pay heavier taxes than we have ever known, to offer our savings willingly in exchange for war bonds, to sacrifice our comforts and, if need be, our customary necessities of life. We must also be on the alert to detect and resist the encroachments of that insidious enemy of every nation—the financial disease of inflation—which may rot away the economic, political and social foundations of our way of life. This enemy, too, we must conquer if the United Nations are to win the opportunity to reconstruct the world after the war.

DANGERS OF INFLATION

The higher wages of workers and incomes of farmers which result from rising prices bring only partial gains at best, because each dollar of income has less purchasing power and because the inflationary spiral is fed by fresh demands for ever higher remuneration as prices continue to rise. Those with fixed incomes find their real incomes steadily dropping in the face of higher prices and taxes; and the unstable prosperity of the war boom, every one knows, may give way eventually to a post-war slump, when farmers, workers, and all classes will feel the harsh effects of economic and political disorganization. Indiscriminately and unequally inflation lays its inescapable burdens upon all classes and groups, while increas-

1. See E. S. Hediger, "Nazi Exploitation of Occupied Europe," *Foreign Policy Reports*, June 1, 1942, and *idem.*, "Nazi Economic Imperialism," *ibid.*, August 15, 1942.

FOREIGN POLICY REPORTS, VOLUME XVIII, NUMBER 16, NOVEMBER 1, 1942

Published twice a month by the FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, Incorporated, 22 East 38th Street, New York, N. Y., U.S.A. FRANK ROSS MCCOY, *President;* SHERMAN S. HAYDEN, *Assistant to the President;* VERA MICHELES DEAN, *Editor and Research Director;* HELEN TERRY, *Assistant Editor. Research Associates:* WINIFRED N. HADSEL, ERNEST S. HEDIGER, HELEN H. MOORHEAD, ONA K. D. RINGWOOD, LAWRENCE K. ROSINGER, HOWARD P. WHIDDEN, JR.; JOHN I. B. MCCULLOCH, *Acting Director of the Washington Office;* JOHN ELLIOTT, *Washington Correspondent.* Subscription Rates: $5.00 a year; to F.P.A. members $3.00; single copies 25 cents. Entered as second-class matter on March 31, 1931 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

181 *Produced under union conditions and composed, printed and bound by union labor.*

ing the cost of the war and multiplying the war debt. If the evil effects of inflation, which arise from the disparity between the greater purchasing power released by war spending and employment and the lessening of available consumers' goods, are to be prevented, World War II must, by careful planning and control, be financed by noninflationary methods.

NO HOPE OF REPARATION

Nor can we hope, as Germany hoped in vain during World World I, to obtain from our defeated foes lands and treasures which will repay our losses. These foes will be exhausted and impoverished before the war is ended. For us, moreover, this is not a war of conquest. We have learned also that intergovernmental loans during a world war will probably never be repaid, except in token form. We do not expect our Allies, who already have made great sacrifices in manpower and war material, to bear a disproportionate share of the costs of World War II. We must expect that the aid we are giving them through the operation of lend-lease arrangements will be very largely our contribution to the common cause.

We cannot, therefore, escape painful and continued sacrifices if we are to avert a defeat that would prove far more costly. This reasoning is recognized—although not always adequately—in the messages of President Roosevelt to Congress, in the lend-lease agreements concluded with thirty countries,[2] and in the utterances of many American leaders.

The cost of government in wartime is indicated in the estimate made by Mr. Morgenthau, Secretary of the Treasury, on July 23 that federal expenditures in the fiscal year 1943 would be $77 billion.[3] Now that Congress has enacted a revenue measure which would raise $25 billion, a deficit of $52 billion remains to be covered by new taxation or by borrowing. As the war goes on the budgets will presumably expand progressively, and heavier taxation and borrowing will ensue. What are our plans for the financing of a war which may cost $200 billion, or more, according to current estimates?

OUR FINANCIAL POSITION

As we soberly take stock of our financial resources, we realize that we have entered the unwanted conflict with what we previously considered a large debt, and stiff income, profits, and death taxation. Just before the opening of World War I federal expenditures were running around a billion dollars annually, the national income was about $50 billion, and the debt from previous wars and other undertakings had been lowered to less than a billion dollars from the ample flow of revenues which were obtained at low rates of taxation.[4]

When the fiscal year 1939 closed on June 30, two months before Britain and France declared war on Germany, the federal debt had grown to practically $40 billion, excluding several billions of debt of government corporations and agencies which the government guaranteed. Expenditures that year were $9.2 billion, taxes were $5.6 billion, and a deficit of $3.6 billion resulted. By this time the national income was approximately $71 billion.

PRE-1939 TAXES

When the United States entered World War I in 1917, the newly enacted personal income tax was collected at a low normal rate of 2 per cent, and surtaxes were laid on incomes in excess of $20,000 at rates of 1 to 13 per cent. Single persons were allowed an exemption of $3,000, and married persons $4,000. Corporations paid only a very modest normal profits tax of 2 per cent. The gasoline tax was still unknown, and the excises were confined very largely to alcoholic beverages and tobacco.

By 1939, after several years of greatly increased federal spending and a search for new revenues, the normal personal income tax rate had been raised to 4 per cent on the incomes of single persons above $1,000 and those of married persons above $2,500. The income in excess of $4,000 was subject to surtaxes ranging from 4 to 75 per cent. Personal income tax rates were thus already somewhat higher at the beginning of World War II than they were at their peak in World War I under the 1918 law.

In 1939 corporations were liable for a normal profits tax at rates of 12.5 to 18 per cent—higher than any of those of World War I. They also had to pay a capital stock tax and perhaps the supplementary declared value excess profits tax. The federal estate tax rates were relatively high, and were graduated up to 70 per cent, as compared with a maximum of 25 per cent under the 1918 law. There was a further gift tax at high rates, the new gasoline tax, and many manufacturers' excises.[5]

We must also note state and local government tax collections, which amounted to only $2.5 billion in 1917 but were $7.8 billion in 1939, excluding payroll charges. Combined federal, state and local tax col-

2. *Sixth Report to Congress on Lend-Lease Operations*, 77th Congress, 2nd session, House Document No. 839 (Washington, 1942).

3. Senate Finance Committee, *Hearings on the 1942 Revenue Act*, 77th Congress, 2nd session, pp. 1-2.

4. The progress of federal finances in recent decades is indicated in the *Annual Reports of the Secretary of the Treasury*, which have been the source of much of the data cited here.

5. Data showing the national income produced and federal, state and local government tax collections have been assembled for the period 1911-40 in *Tax Yields: 1940* (Philadelphia, Tax Institute, 1942).

lections were $2.9 billion in 1914, or less than 9 per cent of the national income, while they had risen to $12.5 billion in 1939, excluding payroll charges of $1.5 billion, or nearly 18 per cent of the national income. State and local government expenditures were less than $3 billion in 1914; by 1939 they were $9 billion. The combined state and local government gross debt grew from about $6 billion in 1914 to $20 billion in 1939.[6]

To summarize, we entered World War II with relatively high taxes, a new high level of peacetime expenditures, and a federal debt legacy much higher than the maximum debt of $26 billion of World War I. Now we are involved in a war which threatens to cost hundreds of billions instead of tens of billions of dollars. But as this country faces the uncertain future, bearing the scars and wounds of past encounters with war and depression, it is still strong and courageous, and should be able to carry the new burdens which a global war will place on our economy.[7]

WAR EXPENDITURES

The costliness of the war in which we are now participating cannot be foretold because of lack of knowledge concerning its duration and the extent to which we must participate to assure victory for the United Nations. In submitting his 1943 budget to Congress, President Roosevelt warned the nation that "the details of a war program are, of course, in a constant flux." As the conflict grows more violent and widespread, the costs of the war will mount. Daily the estimates of these costs must be revised. When Secretary Morgenthau appeared before the Senate Finance Committee on July 23, he stated that almost $77 billion would be spent for all purposes this year, including several billion dollars for nonwar services. He declared that we were spending at a rate of $150 million daily, or almost $5 billion monthly, and that the rate of expenditure continued to increase.[8]

Not long ago it was reported that the sum of appropriations passed and pending in the current war program were approximately $223 billion.[9] It is apparent that the President and Congress are determined to spare no effort in securing appropriations to assure a victory over the Axis. The funds cannot, of course, be expended as fast as they are appropriated because of the time which must elapse before war contracts for airplanes, tanks, warships, rifles and other equipment and supplies can be filled.

CONTROL OF SPENDING

Popular opinion frequently assumes that the more we spend on the war the more likely we are to win it. We know, however, that we can be wasteful in nonmilitary expenditures, and it is reasonable to assume that we can be and are wasteful in military expenditures as well. To win the war, expenditures must be assigned to the tasks that are most likely to promote the war effort.

The Administration has emphasized the need for economy, particularly in nondefense spending. In his message to Congress of January 5, 1942, in which the President presented the budget for 1943, he estimated that approximately a billion dollars was being taken from nonwar activities. The economy movement won support from the Secretary of the Treasury, who on March 3 stated that, while certain economies had been realized, many more could be accomplished in federal and in state and local government services.[10] As a result of the demand for substantial cuts in federal expenditures, a joint Congressional committee was appointed to investigate the situation. The committee reported by late July reductions of $1.3 billion in appropriations, and further savings are anticipated.[11] Economies in nonwar expenditures, however, can at best be only moderate in character, since they are small in value as compared with war expenditures, and are in large part indispensable for the continued functioning of governmental machinery. Simultaneous control of our vast war spending is just as vital as the control of nonwar spending if the dollars contributed by the public are to be employed most advantageously for the successful prosecution of the war. Waste will add to the cost of the war, will needlessly run up the war debt and will invite inflation, while every dollar saved lessens the dangers of inflation and the need for absorbing or immobilizing purchasing power.

TAXATION VERSUS BORROWING

Turning to the revenue side of war financing, how are federal expenditures being met, and to what extent does the federal tax system recognize the requirements of equity and a minimum of inflationary financing? In his discussion of our tax needs in April 1941, several months before we entered fully into the war, Secretary Morgenthau

6. These figures are estimates. The general trends in state and local expenditures are shown in the publications of the National Industrial Conference Board. The state and local debt data are indicated for certain years in the report of the Bureau of the Census, *State and Local Government Debt: 1941, Final Report* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1942), p. 11.

7. Alvin H. Hansen, "We Can Pay the War Bill," *Atlantic Monthly*, October 1942.

8. Senate Finance Committee, *Hearings, 1942*, cited, p. 1.

9. "War Spending," *New York Times*, August 12, 1942, p. 4.

10. House Committee on Ways and Means, *Hearings on Revenue Revision of 1942*, 77th Congress, 2nd session, p. 3.

11. Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures, *Supplemental Report*, July 27, 1942, 77th Congress, 2nd session.

suggested that two-thirds of total federal expenditures should be covered by taxation and the remainder by borrowing. At that time a spending program of $19 billion, including about $12 billion for national defense, was planned for 1942 and taxes were to raise $12.7 billion.[12] Actually, the fiscal year 1942 closed with expenditures of $32.4 billion, and less than 40 per cent of this, or $12.8 billion, was raised by taxation and miscellaneous revenues, leaving a deficit of $19.6 billion.[13]

In March 1942, after we were in an "all-out war" and expenditures for our military machine were rapidly multiplying, the Secretary estimated that approximately 40 per cent of the proposed expenditure of $59 billion in 1943 would be met by taxation.[14] This assumed that Congress would enact a tax law that would swell the tax receipts to about $24 billion. The Secretary's later estimate of expenditures of $77 billion in 1943, previously cited, would lower the taxes-to-loans ratio to less than one-third, unless taxes should be further increased.

Our record, as the Secretary pointed out, is not so good as that of Britain and Canada. The former raised 44 per cent of its total expenditures by taxation in 1941 and plans to raise 53 per cent in 1943, while Canada, which was able to raise 70 per cent in 1941, will raise 55 per cent in 1943.[15]

The belligerents in World War II are apparently, in general, meeting a greater part of their expenditures out of taxation than in World War I because of the lessons learned from the costly blunders in financing the earlier war and their more adequate financial preparation.[16] The financing of World War I was anything but brilliant. According to the estimate of Professor Seligman, Germany during that conflict covered only 10 per cent of its total expenditures with taxes, France only 13 per cent, England more but still only 25 per cent, and the United States also met only 25 per cent of total federal expenditures by taxation.[17]

The public finance experts have not set any fixed proportion of war costs which must be met by taxation if unsound financing is to be avoided. The proper ratio of taxes to expenditures must depend on variable circumstances. In trying to establish our tax goals, however, we should keep in mind the fact that we are financing our part of the war almost entirely out of internal resources and that our own costs, including any aid we may give to our Allies, must be met out of our wealth and income.

We cannot, by borrowing, place the direct costs of the war on the next generation, considering the country as a whole. But we can—and this is very important—modify the distribution of the costs among the individual members of our society now and in the future, and we can influence future economic and political conditions and the future distribution and production of income by our choice of borrowing or taxation, and our decision as to the sources of the funds to be obtained by credit or taxation. In past wars the wealthier classes bought bonds and held them after the war, when loans were probably repaid out of various indirect taxes on consumption which rested more heavily on the poorer than the richer classes.

A reverse process could be worked out by a combination of compulsory loans now—borrowed largely from the lower and middle income groups—and progressive taxation, which would compel the upper incomes to make permanent sacrifices in taxes which would not be repaid. The loans could be repaid by drastic taxes on the wealthy and also on the upper middle incomes by some such scheme as that proposed in England by John Maynard Keynes,[18] which raises complex social issues.

PROBLEMS RAISED BY BOTH METHODS

Some persons ask: Why do we not meet the total costs of the war out of taxation since we must, as a group, pay for today's fighting out of today's resources whether we borrow or tax, and since it would be preferable to avoid increasing the national debt by borrowing, which will also occasion heavy interest costs over a series of years and create the risk that a ponderous debt can never be repaid? One answer to this question has already been given. By borrowing now and taxing later we can attempt to place war costs differently over the population than they would be under an all-taxation policy. Today some will lend to the government, tomorrow others perhaps will pay taxes to redeem those war bonds.

Taxation ample to meet the costs of the present conflict would be crushing on many individuals and business enterprises; and those who lack current incomes large enough to pay their taxes would have to liquidate investments to raise cash for tax payments. Disruption of war production, transportation, and financing would be most serious as securities, real estate, and other investments changed hands, perhaps passing entirely in some

12. House Ways and Means Committee, *Hearings on Revenue Revision of 1941*, 77th Congress, 1st session, p. 6.

13. *Treasury Bulletin*, September 1942, p. 2.

14. House Ways and Means Committee, *Hearings, 1942*, cited, p. 30.

15. Senate Finance Committee, *Hearings, 1942*, cited, p. 2.

16. See Mabel Newcomer, "Financing Defense in Russia and the Axis Powers," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March 1941, pp. 118-25.

17. E. R. A. Seligman, *Essays in Taxation* (10th ed., New York, Macmillan, 1925), pp. 760-67.

18. J. M. Keynes, *How to Pay for the War* (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1940).

instances into the possession of the government, and a total war might be lost on the home front by an enforced financial revolution.

Borrowing has great psychological advantages over taxation because it seems to postpone the final reckoning of sacrifices. It is easier to give up savings and incomes for the war if we expect our contributions to be repaid. So long as the loans are voluntary, each taxpayer may invest in bonds according to his individual economic status, while taxation, which must be levied according to general requirements, may fail to allow for the particular circumstances of the taxpayer. Borrowing, moreover, will raise funds more quickly than income and profits taxes, which are not being paid continuously, and estate and gift taxes, which are paid only at certain intervals. The speed of obtaining borrowed funds is enhanced by the ability of governments to borrow large amounts directly from the banks. The inflationary effects of borrowing bring the illusion of prosperity and many persons will rejoice over their increased wages and incomes, not realizing, perhaps, that the aftermath of this false prosperity may be social disintegration and grave depression.

Borrowing is inescapable in war financing when the conflict is costly. We know now, however, that some borrowing is inflationary because it arises from the expansion of credit at a rate faster than production, and that some is noninflationary because it absorbs only our savings. It is important that, so far as possible, inflationary loans should be avoided. If loans are to be noninflationary they must drain off current purchasing power and the lenders must not borrow to purchase them, use their bonds as collateral for loans to obtain desired funds, or relinquish their bonds to obtain expendable cash. While taxation may have inflationary effects as taxpayers borrow to meet their heavier taxes, such inflation is more easily controlled than that resulting from bank credit expansion in selling bonds. Loans to meet taxes will tend to be repaid at short intervals and, if they become a serious problem, the banks may restrict them.

Taxation, which may be unpleasant, has many advantages over borrowing, and should be maintained during war at the highest level possible in order to avoid the abuses of borrowing and the inequalities and disintegrating effects of credit inflation which may follow. Taxation should be raised to the limits the population will bear by showing the public the advantages of a heavy but equitable tax program which minimizes the dangers of inflation and meets expenditures largely out of current revenues. War is essentially a consumptive rather than a productive undertaking, and its deadweight debt should be kept as low as possible to lessen the economic and political problems which are bound to accompany huge debts.

WAR TAX BILL

Early in 1942 the Ways and Means Committee, with the aid of the Treasury, began to formulate a war tax bill. After several months of unhurried consideration and much disagreement over details, the tax bill finally became law on October 21. It is inadequate and is certain to be followed by a new and more painful law sometime after the Congressional elections in November. It is idle to place the blame for this leisurely action on any person or group; we must all share the responsibility for it. But the longer we postpone the necessary financial surgery on our revenue system, the more difficult will become our problems of war financing. Little courage has been displayed thus far in facing the unpleasant necessity for digging deep into the lower, as well as the middle and upper, incomes to find funds for the war. All those with incomes above the subsistence level have an ability to pay taxes, and should share the burdens of the war.

Nations in the past have raised far too little of their war costs by taxation and far too much by borrowing. Our present goal could well be the covering of half of our total federal expenditures by taxation. Instead of a tax bill to provide some $25 billion, we should strive for taxes of $35 billion or more. If we do not take this sum in taxation, we shall take it in borrowing, and that borrowing may result in extensive inflation which operates with the compulsion of taxation and places its burdens unequally on various individuals and classes.

INCOME AND PROFITS TAXES

With these general observations as a background, we may proceed to examine the federal revenue system, noting first the most important revenue producers—the imposts on personal income and corporation profits—which in the fiscal year 1941 returned nearly half of the total federal revenues, or approximately $3.5 billion out of total taxes of $7.6 billion.[19] Of this sum, a little over $2 billion came from corporations. The variability of income and profits tax receipts was a subject of much discussion during the depression of the 1930's, when their sharp declines disappointed many observers. During World War I these taxes yielded surprising revenues in the United States and Britain, and they are again expanding rapidly as the national income soars, exemptions are lowered and rates are raised.

As yet our individual income taxes are essentially middle- and upper-income-class taxes. When

19. Secretary of the Treasury, *Annual Report, 1941*, pp. 2, 484.

Secretary Morgenthau presented the Treasury tax recommendations to the Ways and Means Committee on March 3, he asked that existing exemptions and the credit for dependents be left unchanged because relatively little revenue would result from these steps, and also argued that those whose incomes would be exempt would not spend sufficiently to threaten seriously inflationary price advances. The other taxes paid by those persons, he said, would be ample, considering their ability to pay. Hence he proposed to increase the taxes on the higher incomes to swell the personal income tax receipts by an additional $3 billion.[20] This suggestion must have been reassuring to millions of families in the lower-income brackets, but it aroused criticism among those who felt that the incomes of war workers would have to be taxed substantially to provide adequate tax revenues and curb inflation. Congress, however, was convinced of the necessity of cutting deeper into the incomes of the masses, and the new revenue law reduces the exemption for single persons to $500 and for married couples to $1,200, and lowers the credit for dependents to $350, leaving unchanged the credit for earned income, although the Treasury had asked to have the latter dropped.

The theory of the complicated earned-income credit is that income from personal exertion, such as wages, salaries, fees, and commissions, is more uncertain and has less ability to pay than income from investments. The law, however, has never clearly distinguished between so-called earned and unearned income, and has merely set up an arbitrary credit for the former, for purposes of computing the normal tax, which tends to lower the tax on the smaller incomes. The same purpose could be accomplished by the simple plan of graduating tax rates according to the size of the income, because, in general, the lower incomes are earned and the higher incomes derived very largely from investments.

Some additional revenue will be obtained by lowering the credit for dependents to $350, but with rising living costs and lower family exemptions, this credit cannot be reduced a great deal. Lowering the exemption for married couples to $1,200 is probably not the final step downward and a further cut to $1,000 is not unlikely, depending on the choice between reaching the lower incomes directly or resorting to heavier consumption taxes.

Yielding to the request of the Treasury, Congress has set up higher normal and surtax rates. The new normal tax rate is advanced to 6 per cent and surtaxes are raised to a minimum of 13 and a maximum of 82 per cent.

20. House Ways and Means Committee, *Hearings, 1942*, cited, p. 4.

COLLECTING AT THE SOURCE

The much discussed reform of collecting the personal income tax largely at the source of payment for wages and salaries, and other forms of income where possible, has been approved by many economists and recommended by the Treasury. The proposal has won considerable favor in Congress, although many employers have complained of the complications and extra labor involved. The new Victory tax will be levied on gross income in excess of $624 at a rate of 5 per cent, with adjustments for the family status of the taxpayer, war bond purchases, debt payments, and life insurance premiums. Collection at the source of current income payments is necessary if the income tax is to be an effective check on inflation and if many taxpayers are not to become delinquent in their taxes, or resort to loans to finance them, with resulting inflationary tendencies.

THE RUML PLAN

The pay-as-you-go plan presented to the Senate Finance Committee by Dr. Beardsley Ruml has won many supporters, but has been looked on with disfavor by the Treasury because it would permit some individuals with high incomes in 1941 to escape part of their heavy taxes, and it involves other complications. The plan proposes to forego taxes on 1941 incomes and to start paying in 1942 the taxes on 1942 incomes, assuming—until adjustments are made at the end of 1942 if necessary—that the 1941 income continues unchanged through 1942.[21] The Ruml plan would make it possible to put into effect at once the withholding of personal income taxes without requiring simultaneously the payment of the tax on this year's income while collecting the tax on last year's. If collection at the source may be combined with an equitable and convenient pay-as-you-go plan, the personal income tax could be streamlined into a thoroughly modern instrument of war financing and would provide new revenues as fast as incomes increased with war prosperity.

The proposal of the Treasury to raise $300 million by requiring married couples to file a joint income tax return aroused unexpected opposition and gained few adherents outside the ranks of labor. The Treasury indicated that only the relatively few couples with incomes in excess of $3,500 could reduce their taxes by filing separate returns. This group, however, brought great political influence to bear, and swarms of witnesses argued before the Ways and Means Committee that the Treasury proposal was a blow at women's rights

21. For details of the Ruml proposal, see Senate Finance Committee, *Hearings, 1942*, cited, pp. 175-96.

to have separate incomes, a menace to the institution of marriage and the American home, unconstitutional, and contrary to the community property customs of several states. Economists appear to have looked on the separate return as little more than a tax reduction scheme for those with larger incomes, and have been astounded to see the issue of equitable taxation joined with the issue of women's rights.[22]

The plan of the Treasury to secure another $200 million from taxing the income of state and local government obligations, outstanding as well as future issues, was rejected. For years state and local governments have resisted taxation because they felt their interest costs would rise and that the gains from taxation would be confined very largely to the federal government. The proposal to tax outstanding loans has secured little support, but a division of opinion prevails over taxation of new loans, and continued attempts to end tax exemptions may be anticipated.[23] Solution of the complex problems of the tax-exempt security must await a compromise which will be acceptable to state and local, as well as the federal, governments.

Controversy has also arisen over the increases in corporation profits taxes. There will now be paid an excess profits tax of 90 per cent. The combined normal taxes and surtaxes may reach a maximum of 40 per cent. The Treasury wisely recommended repeal of the much criticized capital stock and supplementary excess profits tax.[24] Corporations were pleased at the suggested repeal of the detested capital stock tax and its satellite, the prewar excess profits tax, but were aghast at the stiff new taxes proposed on their profits. They urged moderation in the tax rates, to leave some incentive to continue in war production, and asked that deductions be allowed for debt payments. To moderate the increased taxes, Congress provided that the total taxes paid by a corporation shall not exceed 80 per cent of its profits, and that 10 per cent of the excess profits may be credited back to corporations.

ESTATE AND GIFT TAXES

The progressive theory of taxation which has been applied in our income and profits taxes finds further expression in our sharply graduated estate and gift taxes. These taxes returned over $355 million and nearly $52 million, respectively, in 1941.[25] The estate tax rates now range from 3 to 77 per cent, and the Treasury proposed to raise them from 8 to 80 per cent, with a lowering of exemptions. The gift tax would be expanded similarly, and these increases would raise $300 million additional revenue. The concentration of American wealth has long been criticized by President Roosevelt and, with pressing war revenue needs, some increases here were expected. Congress was not willing, however, to disturb the estate and gift tax rates.

COMMODITY TAXES

The various excises have been very productive in recent years, providing nearly $2.4 billion in 1941, and are being extended in the war finance program. Liquor taxes yielded $820 million in 1941, tobacco taxes $698 million, the gasoline tax $343 million, and other taxes lesser amounts.[26] The Treasury program called for extending the excises to provide $1.3 million additional revenue by raising gasoline, beer, distilled spirits, and other taxes along the line, with some new excises on candy and chewing gum. General sales taxes were specifically rejected.

Congress has looked with approval on the Treasury's tax policy in general, but some members have been outspoken in their demands for a retailers' sales tax. Both the House and the Senate have turned away from any sales tax, but the subject has been raised again and again. Resort to excises on comforts and luxuries would probably be preferred by American economists to the general sales tax, but more revenues could be obtained if the latter were added to the excises and the demand for a sales tax, which has many supporters in the business world and in Congress, will doubtless continue. On the other hand, excises on selected articles of general consumption, which are often called luxuries, reach the masses who may not pay income, estate and gift taxes, and are approved by farmers and workers.

A retail sales tax would raise several billion dollars in revenue at a rate of 10 or 12 per cent, if it had no exemptions except for sales to governments and sales of war materials. These revenues would flow continuously from current expenditures of consumers, who would pay their taxes in small amounts, and inflationary spending would be discouraged somewhat. A retail sales tax would be difficult, but practicable, in administration, as experience in a number of states shows. However, it would burden lower incomes regressively, its effects would be distributed rather indiscriminately, and it has been opposed by powerful labor groups. Thus far it has been opposed also by the Adminis-

22. For arguments for and against the joint return, see House Ways and Means Committee, *Hearings, 1942,* cited. Note especially pp. 1221-1480, 1611-27.

23. See *ibid.,* pp. 1480-1610, 3079-3160.

24. *Ibid.,* pp. 5-6. The *Hearings* also include discussion of the Treasury proposals by numerous witnesses.

25. Secretary of the Treasury, *Annual Report, 1941,* cited, p. 485.

26. *Ibid.,* p. 2.

tration, which appears to favor a graduated spendings tax to draw on mass purchasing power. The choice between a sales and a spendings tax has been postponed for further deliberation. One or the other will apparently be necessary in 1943.

Customs duties are not so well adapted to war needs because imports tend to decline with the disruption of foreign trade. Opportunities for revenue expansion should not be overlooked in the taxation of imports, but this field is generally not very promising in wartime.

SOCIAL SECURITY PAYMENTS

In his budget message to Congress in January 1942, the President recommended extension of the social security program to a greater part of the population and higher charges to provide larger benefits. This would increase federal revenues $2 billion, and the government would gain, on balance, as long as collections exceeded disbursements. Secretary Morgenthau reiterated this recommendation, but suggested that its consideration be separated from that of the tax bill. Neither the Administration nor Congress has seen fit to undertake the projected expansion of the social security program, after a few false starts when withholding taxes were suggested as additional revenues and were subjected to much criticism.

The question has been raised from time to time: Could not a gross income tax be withheld at the source of income payment by employers? This could be a further extension of social security charges which are also based on gross income. Revenues would be greatly increased and, if they went into reserve funds for payment of social insurance benefits, the workers would in time get back their advances. The burdens of a gross income tax would be regressive, as would be those of a sales tax, and many prefer to extend the personal income tax.

THE SPENDINGS TAX

Instead of adopting a gross income or a general sales tax, the personal income tax might be extended to reach income spent, theoretically at least, by deducting from further income taxation the income used for purchasing war bonds, paying taxes and life insurance premiums, meeting existing debt obligations, and going into other savings. The basis of a supplementary tax on income spent would be broader than that of a general sales tax because it would include such items as payments to household servants, which are exempt from sales taxes. A spendings tax might also be laid on cash withheld from circulation and investment which might be released in a splurge of panic spending, with dangerous effects, if consumers should feel that inflation was reaching a critical stage. A tax on income spent, unlike a conventional general sales tax, could be imposed at graduated rates in accordance with popular ideas of ability to pay. It might be called a graduated luxury tax or a war emergency tax. The administrative feasibility of such a tax, which would require personal income taxpayers to declare their deductible items, has been the subject of much discussion.

A spendings tax was first suggested by the Treasury as a possible solution of the problem of allowing for debt commitments by giving deductions to taxpayers. Later, spendings tax proposals were urged on the Senate Finance Committee by the Treasury, only to be rejected. If a simple, graduated spendings tax could be devised to yield large revenues, a sales tax would be unnecessary and its unequal burdens would be avoided.

APPRAISAL OF TAX PROGRAM

The tax sector of the battle of finances has been attacked thus far with only moderate success, and the question is being asked: "Is this another case of too little and too late?"[27] The Administration and Congress are plainly hesitant to tighten the screws and adopt an adequate tax law which would swell federal tax receipts to $35 billion or more, lessen the need for borrowing, and put the brakes on credit inflation.

Yet we must recognize that great wars cannot be fought without lowering the standard of living of the majority of the population. It may be politically unpleasant for our leaders to impose heavy taxes on us all, from the lower to the higher incomes, but this action is plainly necessary, and we should wisely accept it as a sacrifice less painful than the ravages of inflation and the loss of the gains of the war after the peace is declared. Business, too, must resign itself to the heavier taxation. Fortunately, we can bear much heavier burdens if we produce more income—our national income is rising, and may reach $115 or $120 billion in 1943—and increase our taxable capacity.

BORROWING FOR THE WAR

In spite of our best efforts at taxation, it will still be necessary to borrow many more billions to feed the war machine. Can this be done without generating costly inflation?

The federal debt at the end of August 1942 had reached over $81 billion, not including over $4.5 billion in securities of corporations and agencies which the government has guaranteed.[28] Over half of the outstanding debt is held by banks and insurance companies, and much of this is in the port-

27. Tax Institute, "Too Little and Too Late in Taxes?" *Taxes for Democracy*, May 28, 1942.

28. *Treasury Bulletin*, September 1942, p. 46.

folios of commercial banks which must stand ready to absorb vast governmental loans by expanding their credit facilities. The sale of war bonds to individuals has been disappointing to those who hoped it might reach $20 billion or more a year. After passing a billion dollars in January, purchases fell to nearly $500 million in April and were less than $700 million in August.[29] We are still a long way from the Treasury goal of $12 billion a year. More and more the government will have to turn to the commercial banks for new loans, and the dangers of inflation become daily more menacing.

Britain, Canada and New Zealand, as well as Germany, have inaugurated compulsory popular loans, a method of borrowing long condemned by authorities on governmental financing because of the many abuses of forced loans by greedy rulers in past centuries. Now compulsory loans are being examined with new interest in democratic countries. It is reasoned that taxes are compulsory and that governments long ago gave up dependence on voluntary contributions for their support. Why, then, should they rely on voluntary loans, which are granted by those most influenced by public opinion and war needs, while others, with equal or greater surplus funds who are not so patriotic or so susceptible to public opinion, turn a deaf ear to pleas to "buy bonds and bury Hitler."

The compulsory loan system, which many observers think is imminent, could be linked with refunds of personal income, spendings, or other taxes after the war, for they could be released to provide consumers with funds at a time when purchasing power had been cut by a depression. Thus, expendable funds in excess of needs would be drained off during the war, lessening inflationary pressure, and loans would be returned after the war, when recovery would be encouraged.

THE LEND-LEASE PROGRAM

Meanwhile, the federal debt is being increased by the aid we are giving our Allies and by expenditures for our own armed forces, which are not covered by taxation. Still fresh in our minds is the collapse of the intergovernmental debts of World War I, when we extended loans of some $10 billion to our associates at interest rates of 5 per cent. As debt settlement agreements were reached after the war, interest rates were reduced to an average of 2.1 per cent, and it was agreed that the debts would be repaid over 62 years. Some payments were made, but the structure collapsed when Germany refused to pay reparation to the Allies and the latter, in turn, declared their inability to pay us. We, the creditors, imposed high tariffs on imports and restricted exports from the nations which needed funds for their debt payments. Many economists believed that voluntary cancellation of the debts at that time would have been a great boon to world trade, finance, and economic cooperation; but we deluded ourselves into thinking the debts would be repaid.

Now, in World War II, our associates are again in great need of material aid in fighting a war which is obviously our responsibility too. The Lend-Lease Act of 1941 was adopted for the purpose of financing aid to Britain and other countries even before we became belligerents, of providing flexibility in the settlement of obligations after the war, and promoting world trade and good will. The President is authorized to secure American products for any government whose defense is vital to us and, after consultation with the Army and Navy, "to sell, transfer title to, exchange, lease, lend, or otherwise dispose of" this material to said government under such conditions as the President deems satisfactory, with "payment or repayment in kind or property, or any other direct or indirect benefit which the President deems necessary."

Lend-lease aid has been promised to some 35 nations, aside from members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The amounts involved stagger the imagination and are indicative of the vast help we intend to give to friendly nations. By the end of August 1942 approximately $6.5 billion in materials from the American arsenal were on their way to the battlefronts of the world, and the rate of giving aid was rapidly increasing. This help is only a small fraction of the sums Congress is appropriating for this purpose.[30]

The lend-lease agreements provide that, in order to assure friendly and speedy settlement of claims arising from their application, we shall consider the aid we receive from the other parties and the materials returned in good condition to us. Settlements are to be made under conditions which will not burden international commerce but will promote it by lowering tariffs and other trade barriers. The Lend-Lease Act gives the President great discretionary power in the settlement of claims which, if wisely used, will be a tremendous aid in stabilizing the world after the war. There is, apparently, no thought of attempting to collect in full; rather we may expect very substantial waiver of the "debts" which may be owing to us as our contribution to world peace.

FUTURE OF FEDERAL DEBT

The federal debt is fast approaching $100 billion

29. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

30. For details, see *Reports of the Office of Lend-Lease Administration.*

Our Taxes and Those of Other Belligerents

By Ona K. D. Ringwood and Alfred G. Buehler

THE federal government has just enacted a huge war revenue law which will increase its revenues in 1943 to approximately $25 billion. Although our tax rates are at unprecedented heights and the base of the income tax will be much broadened, tax experts are pointing out that federal taxes are inadequate both as revenues and as curbs on inflationary spending of consumers. The Treasury has already announced its intention to ask for several billion in new taxes in 1943. When the additional taxes which will probably be imposed next year are added to the federal, state and local taxes now provided, approximately one-third of the national income will be taken in taxes. If we are able to raise some $40 billion in taxes in another year, we shall still be far short of total federal, state and local expenditures which may exceed $90 billion.

What light may foreign experience throw on the problems we now face? Shall we be able to endure heavier taxation? If we assume that new taxes must be laid on consumer expenditures in 1943 in the drive against inflation, what available sources are preferable? How may we arrange our income taxes to permit current, convenient payments from weekly and monthly incomes? If it is found necessary to require compulsory loans from our population, what taxes may be employed to siphon off the funds which will later be repaid? How far should we go in allowing refunds after the war against present taxes? In attempting to answer such questions as these, it will be desirable to study the fiscal policies and practices of the other belligerents, and especially of the democratic nations.

Heavy as our taxes will be in 1943, they will probably consume a lesser portion of the national income than the taxes of England or Germany. In recent years the British and the Germans have been sacrificing higher ratios of the national income, apparently, than we have, and it will probably be some time before we shall catch up with them. The U.S.S.R. has relied heavily on revenues from its socialized industry and its stiff industrial turn-over tax. In Japan the ratio of taxes to the national income has been relatively low, borrowing has been very extensive, and inflation has been invited. If we are willing, we can increase the ratio of taxes to national income in war financing, but the going will get tougher as we penetrate new tax terrain. Inflation may be more destructive than taxation, however, and the latter is the lesser evil.

Our tax battle in 1943 will apparently be a controversy over the adoption of a retail sales or spendings tax. During World War I the general sales tax was introduced in Germany, following some earlier experimentation in a few countries on a minor scale, and after the war it spread into France, Russia, and nearly every other leading nation. England is still holding out against a real general sales tax, although in 1940 it went so far as to levy rather heavy taxes on purchases of nonessentials and luxuries. A number of our states impose retail sales taxes and the resistance to a national sales tax seems to be weakening as a result of the war emergency.

The direct, graduated consumer expenditures tax, which would be collected as a supplement to the personal income tax, has not been tried in other countries. Offered in a complicated form by the Treasury, it would have to be simplified to win general approval. Such a tax would be more equitable than a sales tax and, if it should prove practicable, would be a significant contribution to the art of taxation. The idea merits serious consideration.

The collection of income taxes at the source, which we are now seeking to inaugurate, has long been employed by Britain to collect dividends, rents, and interest on mortgages. Belgium has deducted taxes on wages and salaries at progressive rates, with adjustments for the number of dependents, and Germany has taxed wages and salaries at the source for two decades. We have also had some experience in the withholding of the social security charges.

Compulsory loans have already been proposed by the Treasury, which sought to obtain them through a refundable spendings tax, and will be demanded again in 1943. A portion of our expenditures or incomes will probably be taxed and later credited back to us. Britain and Canada collect forced loans by means of income taxes, but a direct expenditures or an indirect sales tax could be employed.

The participants in World War II are, in general, imposing very steep taxes and are striving earnestly to prevent runaway inflation by heavy taxation and other controls. The spending pace, however, is terrific and national debts are mounting. Post-war financial problems are bound to be grave for all the belligerents.

RECEIVED
DEC 16 2 31
RECEIVED-CARSON
F. D. I.

and may easily reach $150 or $200 billion, depending on the course of the war. Through intelligent and energetic utilization of our resources, we can carry a huge debt without financial collapse. This is not saying that the size of the debt does not matter, because it is obviously an important factor in determining the relative weight and effects of our war debt. Fortunately, interest rates are low, and a debt of $100 billion can be carried at an interest cost of perhaps less than $2.5 billion annually. As the debt rises and interest charges increase, however, they will become more and more of a drain on the budget. The probability of repaying or substantially reducing our huge debt will depend on national income and the factors which will increase federal revenues, on the one hand, and the need, on the other hand, for future large expenditures for war, depression, or other great emergencies.

One course of action would be to pay merely interest charges. We could carry a perpetual debt and consider interest a perennial responsibility, counting on a rising national income to lighten the interest burden. If we should enjoy a long period of peace and world stability after the war and a growing national income, we would find it possible to amortize our debt over several decades or a century. This would involve the inconvenience of collecting taxes to pay off the debt and the transfer of funds from taxpayers to bondholders, but it would gradually extinguish the debt and would carry out our traditional policy of debt retirement.

War debts have been repudiated by certain countries, for example Russia, after World War I; have been wiped out by inflation which destroyed the purchasing power of claims against the debtor government that could be repaid in legal tender, as happened in Germany; and have been retired, as was the case with our own Civil War debt and part of our debt of World War I. The final outcome of our huge debt will depend on its relative burdens as affected by its size, interest rates, the national income, the price level, governmental financial management, the willingness of the population to pay taxes for debt service, future economic, political and social conditions, and other unpredictable factors. For the immediate future, we may expect after the war a policy of repayment; beyond that it is now impossible to see.

In the November 15 issue of FOREIGN POLICY REPORTS:

CHINA'S ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES *by Lawrence K. Rosinger*

Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, Etc., Required by the Acts of Congress of August 24, 1912, and March 3, 1933, of

FOREIGN POLICY REPORTS

Published twice a month at New York, N. Y. for October 1, 1942.

State of New York, County of New York, ss:

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Vera Micheles Dean, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Editor of the Foreign Policy Reports, and that the following, is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers, are:

Publisher—Foreign Policy Association, Incorporated, 22 East 38th Street, N. Y., N. Y.

Editor—Vera Micheles Dean, 22 East 38th St., N. Y., N. Y.

Managing Editor—None.

Business Managers—None.

2. That the owner is:

Foreign Policy Association, Incorporated, the principal officers of which are: Frank Ross McCoy, President; Dorothy F. Leet, Secretary; both of 22 East 38th Street, N. Y., N. Y.; and William A. Eldridge, Treasurer, 70 Broadway, N. Y., N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are:

None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by her.

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, Incorporated
By VERA MICHELES DEAN, Editor

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 23rd day of September, 1942.

[Seal] CAROLYN MARTIN, Notary Public,

New York County, New York, County Clerk's No. 339, New York County Reg. No. 3M284. (My commission expires March 30, 1943.)